UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 01470082 7

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/memoirofmajorgen00rawluoft

81

387a

SIR HENRY CRESWICKE RAWLINSON, BART.

Walker & [illegible]

Sir Henry C. Rawlinson
at the age of 75
from an oil painting by Frank Holl. R.A.

~~HEB~~
~~R26B[illegible]~~

A MEMOIR OF

MAJOR-GENERAL
SIR HENRY CRESWICKE RAWLINSON

BART., K.C.B., F.R.S., D.C.L., F.R.G.S., &c.

BY

GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., F.R.G.S.
CANON OF CANTERBURY
LATE CAMDEN PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY
FIELD-MARSHAL LORD ROBERTS OF KANDAHAR, V.C.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
NEW YORK AND BOMBAY
1898

434231
12.4.45

All rights reserved

LIBRARY
OCT
10
1980
UNIVERSITY
OF TORONTO

PJ
3164
R3R3

PREFACE

Some apology is perhaps due to the public for the late appearance of this work, which was promised to them in 1894, on the death of its subject. But the materials from which it had to be composed were left in so fragmentary and so confused a condition, and the writing was, in many cases, so faded, that a longer time was required for their decipherment and rearrangement than for the actual writing of the Memoir. The mass of papers to be examined was enormous; to a large extent they were confused and intermixed; the handwriting was often so minute as to require the use of a powerful magnifier; and in some cases it was absolutely illegible. These facts necessitated a considerable delay, while the author's other employments and avocations did not leave him very much leisure time for literary labour. Some further delay was caused by the inability of Lord Roberts, owing to a pressure of business in his department, to furnish the chapter which he had promised by way of Introduction to the Memoir, and which it was felt that the work would be incomplete without.

In executing his task the author has endeavoured to make Sir Henry Rawlinson, as much as possible, speak for himself. Unfortunately, it was not his general practice to keep copies of his letters, and the possessors of the originals, where they have been preserved, responded but feebly to the author's earnest request, through the Press, that they would allow him to make use of their treasures. Nor, again, did Sir Henry ever keep a regular diary. On the other hand, he left behind him numerous fragments of diaries, and one rough sketch of his life down to the year 1884. It is from this sketch, from these fragments of diaries, and from one or two collections of his letters, that this work has been mainly composed. Sir Henry will thus be found, to a large extent, to have written his own Life.

Still, the author must not conclude this brief 'Vorwort' without acknowledging certain obligations. He is indebted to his nephew, the present Sir Henry Rawlinson, not only for his contribution to the Memoir (Chapter XIX.), but also for placing all the materials left by Sir Henry *unreservedly* at his disposal. He is indebted to Lord Roberts both for his 'Introduction' and likewise for the use which he has made of 'Forty-one Years in India' (Chapter XVI.), which has been his authority for the entire course of the Second Affghan War. And he is indebted to John William Kaye, the author of the 'History of the War in Affghanistan,' for various facts in the course of the First Affghan War, for which he has quoted Mr. Kaye's book. Sir Henry's Diary, very copious for this period, has been his main source for it, but he has found Mr. Kaye also a most valuable and trustworthy authority.

CONTENTS

PAGE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE v

TABLE OF CONTENTS vii

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xii

INTRODUCTION, BY LORD ROBERTS xiii

CHAPTER I

BIRTH, PARENTAGE, AND EARLY EDUCATION 1

CHAPTER II

LATER EDUCATION—EALING—BLACKHEATH 11

CHAPTER III

DEPARTURE FOR INDIA—VOYAGE TO BOMBAY—LIFE AS A SUBALTERN OFFICER 21

CHAPTER IV

REMOVAL TO PERSIA—VOYAGE TO BUSHIRE—LIFE IN PERSIA DURING 1833 AND 1834 34

CHAPTER V

RESIDENCE IN PERSIA FROM 1835 TO 1839—FIRST ATTRACTION TO CUNEIFORM STUDIES—TRAVELS—RETURN TO INDIA FROM PERSIA . . 50

CHAPTER VI

LIFE DURING THE GREAT AFFGHAN WAR, 1839–1842 71

CHAPTER VII

PAGE

TROUBLE RESPECTING CANDAHAR ACCOUNTS—ILLNESS—DIFFICULTIES SURMOUNTED—MEETING WITH LORD ELLENBOROUGH—LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S OFFERS—ACCEPTS THE RESIDENCY AT BAGHDAD 135

CHAPTER VIII

FIRST RESIDENCE AT BAGHDAD (1844–1849)—CUNEIFORM STUDIES—FIRST CUNEIFORM MEMOIR—STUDIES FOR SECOND MEMOIR—CONTACT WITH LAYARD—FINAL VISIT TO BEHISTUN—RETURN TO ENGLAND. 142

CHAPTER IX

RECEPTION IN ENGLAND—WORK IN LONDON—LECTURES BEFORE LEARNED SOCIETIES—CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICALS—HONOURS (1849–1851) 161

CHAPTER X

SECOND RESIDENCE AT BAGHDAD (1851–1855)—TAKES OVER THE NINEVEH EXPLORATIONS—WORK AS AN EXPLORER—POLITICAL ANXIETIES—LETTER FROM LORD STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE—FRACTURE OF COLLAR-BONE—SECOND RETURN TO ENGLAND. . 172

CHAPTER XI

LIFE IN ENGLAND FROM 1855 TO 1859—RESIGNATION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE—REFUSAL OF AN OFFER OF KNIGHTHOOD—BECOMES A K.C.B.—NOMINATED A CROWN DIRECTOR OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY—ELECTED M.P. FOR REIGATE—BECOMES MEMBER OF THE FIRST INDIA COUNCIL, AND RESIGNS HIS SEAT IN PARLIAMENT 200

CHAPTER XII

ACCEPTS THE EMBASSY TO PERSIA—INTERVIEW WITH A REIGATE CONSTITUENT, AUGUST 1859—JOURNEY FROM LONDON TO TEHERAN—RECEPTION BY THE SHAH—LIFE AT TEHERAN FROM NOVEMBER 1859 TO MAY 1860—RESIGNATION OF THE EMBASSY—REASONS AND RUMOURS 207

CHAPTER XIII

PAGE

RETURN TO ENGLAND—RESUMPTION OF CUNEIFORM STUDIES—COMMENCEMENT OF REGULAR WORK AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM—RELATIONS WITH MR. GEORGE SMITH—ENGAGEMENT TO EDIT THE 'CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS OF WESTERN ASIA'—PUBLICATION OF VOL. I., 1861—OTHER CUNEIFORM PUBLICATIONS—MARRIAGE—WEDDING TOUR—RETURN TO LONDON AND LIFE THERE (1861–1864) 239

CHAPTER XIV

NEGOTIATIONS WITH A VIEW TO RE-ENTERING PARLIAMENT—STANDS FOR FROME AT THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1865—ELECTED—ACTION IN PARLIAMENT—A SPECIMEN SPEECH—'RUSSIAN SCARE'—TAKES UP THE ALARMIST SIDE, AND WRITES FIRST ARTICLE IN 'QUARTERLY' (OCTOBER 1865)—BUSY WITH PARLIAMENTARY DUTIES FROM 1866 TO 1868—RE-APPOINTED TO THE INDIA COUNCIL AS LIFE MEMBER 245

CHAPTER XV

WORK AS MEMBER OF INDIA COUNCIL (1868–70)—INCREASING CALLS ON HIS TIME MADE BY THE GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—ELECTION AS PRESIDENT (1871)—ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN 1872, 1873, 1875, AND 1876—ATTENDANCE ON THE SHAH OF PERSIA IN 1873—PUBLICATION OF 'ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN THE EAST'—CONSEQUENT POLITICAL STIR 262

CHAPTER XVI

ATTENDS THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE IN 1876—INVITED TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT OF ENGLAND'S POLICY IN THE EAST WITH LORD LYTTON ON HIS APPOINTMENT AS VICEROY—CONTINUES IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIM, 1877–1879—WRITES ARTICLES IN THE 'NINETEENTH CENTURY' IN SUPPORT OF LORD LYTTON'S POLICY, 1878–1880—HIS VIEWS ON THE GENERAL AFFGHAN QUESTION . . 273

CHAPTER XVII

APPROVAL OF SIR HENRY'S VIEWS BY THE INDIA COUNCIL—OPPOSITION TO THEM IN OTHER QUARTERS—PROGRESS OF EVENTS IN CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIAN ABSORPTION OF MERV—RISE OF THE AFFGHAN FRONTIER QUESTION—DANGER OF A RUSSIAN WAR—PENDJEH INCIDENT—ANGLO-RUSSIAN FRONTIER COMMISSION—SIR HENRY'S PART IN THE DELIMITATION 284

CHAPTER XVIII

PAGE

CLOSING YEARS OF LIFE (1885–1895)—EDINBURGH DEGREE—CONTINUED WORK AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND THE INDIA COUNCIL—FAILURE OF HEALTH, COMMENCING ABOUT 1884—DOMESTIC AFFAIRS—DEATH OF WIFE (1889)—SONS ENTER THE ARMY AND SERVE IN INDIA—MARRIAGE OF SONS—LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH . . 290

CHAPTER XIX

(Contributed by *the present* Sir Henry Rawlinson)

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND OCCUPATIONS LATE IN LIFE—HIS LOVE OF SPORT—HIS EXCELLENCE AS A RACONTEUR—HIS PRIDE IN HIS LIBRARY—CUNEIFORM NOTE-BOOKS—NOBLE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD CHARACTER 295

CHAPTER XX

POSITION WITH REGARD TO CUNEIFORM DISCOVERY—ABSOLUTE IGNORANCE OF THE SUBJECT ON QUITTING ENGLAND IN 1827—ATTENTION HOW FIRST CALLED TO IT—MATERIALS OBTAINED FROM THE ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS OF HAMADAN AND BEHISTUN IN 1835–1837—FIRST ACQUAINTANCE MADE WITH THE EARLY LABOURS OF GROTOFEND AND ST. MARTIN IN 1836—LITTLE ADVANTAGE OBTAINED FROM THESE WRITERS—FIRST TRANSLATIONS OF CUNEIFORM DOCUMENTS COMMUNICATED TO THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1837—ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE DOCUMENTS—ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE PARIS ASIATIC SOCIETY—COMMUNICATION HELD WITH M. EUGÈNE BURNOUF IN THE YEAR 1838—OBTAINS THIS WRITER'S *Mémoire* ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF HAMADAN, AND HIS *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, THE SAME YEAR—INTRODUCTION TO PROFESSOR LASSEN OF BONN THROUGH SIR GORE OUSELEY ABOUT THE SAME TIME—LETTER FROM OUSELEY—LETTER FROM LASSEN—OBTAINS LASSEN'S *Altpersische Keilinschriften von Persepolis* SOON AFTERWARDS, CONTAINING COPIES OF THE INSCRIPTIONS PUBLISHED BY NIEBUHR, LE BRUN, AND PORTER—DECIPHERMENT OF THE PERSIAN CUNEIFORM ALPHABET—MODE OF PROCEDURE—GRADUAL PROGRESS—ULTIMATE RESULT ARRIVED AT—STUDY OF THE CONTENTS OF THE PERSIAN CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS, 1839 AND 1844—COMPOSITION AND PUBLICATION OF THE FIRST CUNEIFORM MEMOIR, 1844–1846—RECEPTION OF THE MEMOIR AT HOME AND ABROAD—STUDY OF THE BABYLONIAN CUNEIFORM, 1846–1849—PUBLICATION OF SECOND CUNEIFORM MEMOIR, 'ON THE BABYLONIAN TRANSLATION OF THE GREAT PERSIAN INSCRIPTION AT BEHISTUN,' 1851—DECIPHERMENT AND TRANSLATION OF ASSYRIAN DOCUMENTS, 1848–1851—STUDY OF THE MEDIAN OR SCYTHIC CUNEIFORM CONJOINTLY WITH MR. E. NORRIS, 1851–1855—STUDY OF OTHER VARIETIES OF CUNEIFORM WRITING—TESTIMONY OF PROFESSOR JULES OPPERT 307

CHAPTER XXI

PAGE

POSITION AND WORK AS A GEOGRAPHER—FIRST ESSAYS COMMUNICATED TO THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY BY VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, 1838–1840—THEIR VALUE TO ORDINARY GEOGRAPHY—THEIR INTEREST IN CONNECTION WITH THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHY—FURTHER WORK AS A COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHER, 1841–1857—APPLICATION OF HIS GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE TO PRACTICAL OBJECTS—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA—EARLY CONNECTION WITH THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—ELEVATION TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SAME—ADDRESSES—IMPORTANT MEMOIRS—TESTIMONY BORNE TO HIS MERITS AS A GEOGRAPHER BY SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM AND SIR FREDERIC GOLDSMID 334

INDEX 349

ILLUSTRATIONS

Sir Henry C. Rawlinson at the age of 75 . . *Frontispiece*
From an oil painting by Frank Holl, R.A.

Map of the Routes traversed by Sir H. C. Rawlinson *To face page* 1

The Rock of Behistun, showing the Great Trilingual Inscription . . . . ,, ,, 146

Sir Henry C. Rawlinson at the age of 40 . . . . ,, ,, 164
After an oil painting by Thomas Phillips, R.A.

Sir Henry C. Rawlinson at the age of 55 . . . . ,, ,, 246
From a drawing by G. F. Watts, R.A.

INTRODUCTION

The Memoir of Sir Henry Rawlinson affords a striking illustration of the powerful influence that early association with a master-mind may exercise on a man's career in life, and of what great things may be achieved if he takes full advantage of his opportunities, and sets out with a determination to make the most of his life and raise himself above his fellows. It may therefore be considered a piece of good fortune for a young cadet like Rawlinson, bound to India to seek his fortune, to find himself thrown as a fellow-passenger with Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, a distinguished soldier, an equally distinguished diplomatist, and an Oriental scholar of no mean reputation.

In those days, when it took four months to reach India, there was time for travellers by the same ship to become intimately acquainted with each other during the voyage, and, in this way, a firm friendship sprang up between this rather curiously matched pair. It was, without doubt, an enormous advantage for the lad of seventeen to be so closely associated with the 'Historian of Persia,' whose tales of his battles with the Mahrattas and his experiences amongst the Persians, probably fired Rawlinson's youthful imagination, and gave that bent to his tastes which resulted in his subsequent choice of a career.

Rawlinson himself evidently recognised the advantages of this companionship, for he frequently referred to the conversations he had had with Sir John Malcolm, and expressed his gratitude for the valuable advice he had given him in regard to Persia and the study of the Persian language. And it was owing to his knowledge of the *zabān-i-shīrīn*, or sweet flowing language, as the Persians delight to call it, as well as to his general popularity, that he was selected, just six years after his arrival in the country, by Lord Clare (Sir John Malcolm's successor as Governor of Bombay) to be one of the small body of officers belonging to the Indian Army, deputed to reorganise and discipline the Shah's troops, so as to restore them to that state of efficiency to which they had formerly attained under the supervision of British officers.

British influence in Persia was at a very low ebb when Rawlinson reached Teheran, and the young soldier must have found his position very different from what it would have been in the time of Sir John Malcolm, the magnificence of whose retinue, added to his own masterful character and unique knowledge of the manner in which to deal with Orientals, had caused the British Embassy to occupy a very exalted position at that capital.

The varied and important duties which fell to the lot of Rawlinson during the six years he remained in

Persia, helped materially to cultivate those qualities which enabled him to fill, with such credit to himself and advantage to the State, the many onerous posts to which he was subsequently appointed.

Nothing shows what a man is made of and brings out the good that is in him so much as having responsibility thrown upon him early in life, and this great test of character was applied to the young subaltern of Native Infantry in no measured degree on first serving in Persia, for on more than one occasion he was required to command considerable bodies of Persian troops, and important civil duties devolved upon him in the province of Kermanshah.

The mission to which Rawlinson was attached was brought to a sudden end, owing to diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Persia being broken off because of the Shah's aggressive action with regard to Herat, and at the close of 1839 Rawlinson found himself back in Bombay.

Two circumstances which considerably affected Rawlinson's subsequent career occurred during the last year of his residence in Persia.

On his ride from Teheran to the Persian camp at Herat he accidentally came across Captain Vitkievitch, the Russian officer whose presence at Kabul a few months later did much to bring about the Affghan war of 1839–42, and the meeting with whom first directed Rawlinson's attention to the dominating position Russia was gradually acquiring over Affghanistan.

The other circumstance was the opportunity that the quiet time he was able to secure at Baghdad gave

Rawlinson of carrying on his researches in the study of the cuneiform character as well as of the ancient Persian language, his thorough knowledge of which placed him in after years in the highest rank of Oriental scholars.

While Rawlinson was endeavouring to get some employment that would permit of his continuing his investigations in Turkish Arabia, he was gratified by being offered an appointment on the staff of Sir William Macnaghten, the chief political officer with the army in Affghanistan.

For this unexpected piece of good fortune Rawlinson had to thank himself alone. He had gained the confidence of both the British and Persian authorities, and, young as he was (only thirty years of age), he was considered better fitted than any other officer for the important post of Political Agent at Kandahar. Placed amidst many conflicting elements, and in daily communication with the brave, honest, straightforward, but somewhat crotchety General Nott, Rawlinson found himself in a position of extreme delicacy and responsibility, requiring tact, temper, and forbearance, qualities he proved himself to possess in an eminent degree. His services during the trying times of 1841–42 brought his merits prominently to notice, and he left Affghanistan with a reputation second to none as a soldier-political.

It is somewhat strange that a chance meeting on board a steamer should again, for the second time, be the means of advancement to Rawlinson. When travelling from Allahabad to Calcutta he found himself a fellow-passenger with Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-

General, who was so interested in all that Rawlinson could tell him of the Affghan war, and so favourably impressed with the practical intelligence of his fellow-traveller, that he offered him the Residentship in Nepal, or the still more coveted and lucrative appointment of Governor-General's Agent in Central India. Few men of Rawlinson's age and standing but would have accepted the present advantages and future prospects which either of these positions held out; but they did not tempt Rawlinson to abandon the work he had set himself to do in deciphering the cuneiform inscriptions in Persia and Mesopotamia; and the Political Agency in Turkish Arabia happening at that time to become vacant, he applied to be sent to Baghdad, a far inferior position to either of those he had been offered.

It was by the work done during the five years he remained in Turkish Arabia that Rawlinson made his name famous amongst the *savants* of Europe, and it is as the man who first correctly deciphered and translated the remarkable inscription engraved on the rock-hewn sepulchre of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam, and by reason of the field he opened out for research amongst the relics of a lost people, and the link he established between the past and the present, that his reputation will live through future generations.

The importance of Rawlinson's discoveries has, I think, hardly been adequately appreciated by the present generation. The Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian inscriptions deciphered by Rawlinson are, with the exception of the Egyptian, and perhaps the Hittite hieroglyphics, the oldest original records that we have of the existence of man as a civilised being. The cuneiform documents are more ample than any discovered Egyptian records, and they are the veritable originals, contemporary (mostly) with the events chronicled, and therefore presumably trustworthy. The earliest of them shows us clearly the high state of civilisation which the inhabitants of Mesopotamia had reached more than 2000 years B.C., and the latest belongs to a time not much after the death of Alexander the Great, 323 B.C.

After a lengthened stay in the East of twenty-two years, Rawlinson resolved to return to England for the double purpose of recruiting his health and superintending the publication of his translation of the great Persian inscription at Behistun. The reception he met with on his arrival was most gratifying to him. The several learned Societies vied with each other in doing honour to the distinguished scholar, and his two years' leave of absence passed all too quickly. As this, however, was the limit of leave that the rules of the Service permitted an officer to take without forfeiture of appointment, at the end of 1851 Rawlinson was back at Baghdad. He remained for five more years in Turkish Arabia prosecuting his valuable investigations in various parts of Chaldæa and Babylonia. At the end of that time, he returned to England, believing that his career in the East had been finally closed, and the following year, Sir Henry Rawlinson (as he had now become) was appointed a Director of the East India Company. On the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown, he was made a member of the first Indian Council, but he held this position for a short time only, as he was offered and accepted the office of Her Majesty's Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of the Shah, which necessitated his returning to the scene of his early labours in Persia.

Sir Henry met with a most friendly reception from the Persian authorities, especially from the Shah, who welcomed him as an old friend; but he found that, so far as British interests were concerned, affairs at Teheran had considerably changed for the worse since he had left the place twenty years before; and, as a further (to him distasteful) change was about to be made by the control of the Embassy being taken away from the India Office and made over once more to the Foreign Office, Rawlinson did not care to remain. He thought that, under the new order of things, he could not recover for the British Embassy that prestige which it had formerly possessed, so he begged to be allowed to resign his appointment.

On returning to England, Sir Henry Rawlinson re-entered Parliament, but his membership was of short duration, for in 1868 he was again appointed to the Indian Council, and during the remainder of his life he mainly devoted himself to the service of the country in which he took such a deep interest, and where he had begun his distinguished career.

Not the least of Sir Henry Rawlinson's valuable services to his country were his efforts to arouse public attention to the critical state of the Anglo-Russian relations in Central Asia, and to make his countrymen realise that Great Britain was gradually losing her isolated position in that part of the world, and that the time was rapidly approaching when measures would have to be taken to preserve the integrity of our Indian Empire.

Rawlinson's intimate acquaintance with Persia and Affghanistan, and his unrivalled knowledge of the subject, enabled him to speak on this 'many-sided' question with an authority and confidence few of his countrymen could claim.

In an able and elaborate memorandum written in July 1868 Rawlinson pointed out the threatening attitude and steady advance of Russia. This important document was received with scant favour by the Government of India, and for some years it remained hidden in the recesses of the India Office practically unnoticed. At length, in 1874, this memorandum and some other papers written subsequently by Sir Henry Rawlinson on the same subject, were published under the title of 'England and Russia in the East.' In this book, after reviewing the manner in which Russia had gradually worked her way from Orenburg to the Jaxartes, and possessed herself of the whole of the country as far south as Samarkand, Sir Henry pointed out that nothing we could then do could prevent the absorption by Russia of the remaining Khanates and the extension of her frontier to the Oxus.

Rawlinson then proceeded to explain how that, as soon as Russia was firmly established on the Oxus and Turkestan brought into direct communication with St. Petersburg *via* the Caspian and the Caucasus, she would dominate the whole of northern Persia and

Affghanistan; and that the capture and occupation of Merv (which this direct communication would entail) would enable the Russians to seize Herat by a *coup de main* whenever they pleased.

He drew attention also to the other most important fact that, with Merv as one of the bulwarks of the Russian position towards India, the danger of a collision with Great Britain would assume tangible proportions. He traversed the assertion of the advocates of inaction that, in the event of Affghanistan being invaded, the first comers would naturally be regarded as enemies, and those who followed as deliverers. And he gave powerful reasons why we ought never to allow the Russians to enter Affghan territory, and why it is essential that our influence at Kabul should be paramount.

These views, as Sir Henry Rawlinson expected, did not pass without a certain amount of adverse criticism; before his death, however, he had the satisfaction of knowing that most of his predictions had been justified, and that, if his recommendations had not been accepted in as decided a manner as he had hoped, his warnings had not been given altogether in vain, inasmuch as he had succeeded in drawing attention to the danger of Russia being allowed to continue her progress towards India.

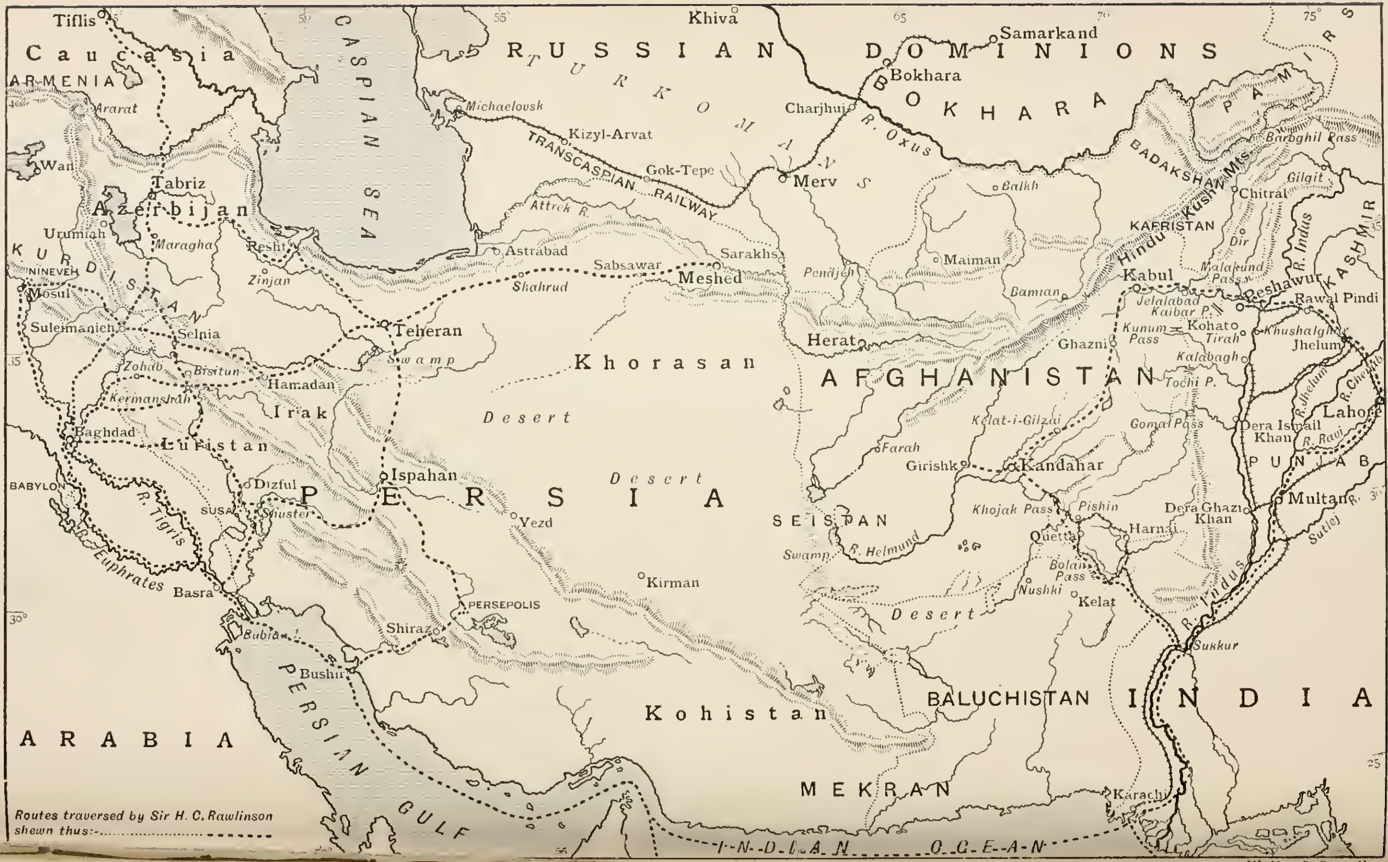
The result of Sir Henry Rawlinson's warnings is apparent in that relations, more or less friendly, have been entered into with the Amir of Affghanistan, although our influence at Kabul is unfortunately still far from paramount. A boundary, although not altogether a satisfactory one, has been fixed, beyond which Russia is not to be allowed to advance; and the necessity for our having easy and rapid communication with certain obligatory points which we should have to hold in the event of war is apparently being realised—though only very gradually—by our statesmen and the people of the United Kingdom.

As one who firmly believes in the wisdom of Sir Henry Rawlinson's words of warning, I would venture to express an earnest hope that they will receive more attention than they have hitherto met with. The subject, which that experienced soldier dealt with so wisely and so fearlessly, is of the most supreme importance to our future in India. The necessity for considering what the real frontier of India is, and how that frontier is to be secured, has forced itself to notice in an unexpected manner during the last few months; and it must have brought home to the most careless observer of Indian frontier politics what an important factor the border tribes are in the question of the defence of the North-West frontier of our great Indian Empire, and with what enormous difficulties the solution of this most intricate problem is attended.

We should be deeply thankful that the recent unprecedentedly serious rising did not take place while our troops were otherwise engaged, and that we are still given time to set our house in order.

Roberts.

New Year's Day, 1898.



Walker & Boutall sc.

MEMOIR

OF

SIR HENRY RAWLINSON

CHAPTER I

BIRTH, PARENTAGE, AND EARLY EDUCATION

HENRY CRESWICKE RAWLINSON, the subject of this memoir, was the second son of Abram Tyzack Rawlinson, of Chadlington, Oxfordshire, a Justice of the Peace and Deputy-Lieutenant for the county of Oxford from about the year 1805 to 1845. He was born at Chadlington on April 11, 1810, and was educated up to the age of eleven chiefly by his mother, who was a person of considerable reading and force of character.

His father belonged to an old Lancashire family of name and note, settled from early in the fifteenth century in the district known as 'Oversands,' or that intervening between Morecambe Bay and Westmoreland, on the verge of the Lake country, in the vicinity of the old abbey of Furness. Several Rawlinsons are said to have been abbots of Furness;[1] and, according to family tradition, two scions of the house, Henry and Walter, fought at Agincourt. The names, however, are not found on the battle-roll; and the tradition may perhaps scarcely deserve notice, except as one that has probably inspired to worthy deeds later members of the ancient stock. What is certain of the family is, that it has remained in the ranks of the gentry, and has continued to hold lands in the district above mentioned, and in the adjoining parts of Lancashire, at least from the time of Edward IV. until the present day. It has never been ennobled; and probably the highest civil rank whereto it has as yet attained, is that reached by the subject of the present memoir, created, in 1890, a Baronet of the United Kingdom. But, though it has never at any time had the good fortune to push itself into a position of high eminence, and must be content to take rank with those other families of the gentry which have in large measure given to the English nation its strength and its solidity, still from time to time it has produced personages of some considerable distinction, of whom all its members may well be proud, and who deserve to be held in remembrance. Such were Robert Rawlinson, of Cark Hall, who, on account of the support which he had given to the Royalist cause during the time of the Great Rebellion, was granted by Charles II. a new coat-of-arms, viz., two bars gemelles, gules, between three escallops, argent; and for a crest a sheldrake, proper, bearing in his beak an escallop, argent; and was also made a Justice of the Peace for Lancashire, and Vice-Chamberlain of Chester; Curwen Rawlinson, his son, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Nicolas Monk, Bishop of Hereford, and niece of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, and was M.P. for Lancaster in 1688; Sir William Rawlinson,

---

[1] As Thomas Rawlinson (about A.D. 1440) in the reign of Henry VI.; a Rawlinson, Christian name unknown, from A.D. 1440 to 1446; and Alexander Rawlinson (about A.D. 1509–1533) in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. (See West's *History of Furness*, pp. 89 *et seq.*) The latest authority, however, regards these Abbots as 'apocryphal.' (Atkinson, *Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, part iii. p. xxiii.)

Barrister and Sergeant-at-Law (1640–1703), who was made one of the three Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal in 1688, and retained the post till 1692; Thomas Rawlinson, Lord Mayor of London in 1706; Richard Rawlinson, the Antiquary (1690–1755), Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, F.R.S. and F.S.A., who founded the Anglo-Saxon Professorship at Oxford, and was one of the latest of the Non-Juror Bishops; and others.

Sir Henry's father was the eldest son of Henry Rawlinson, merchant, of Liverpool, and M.P. for the borough from 1780 to 1784, who married Martha Tyzack, the only child and heiress of Peregrine Tyzack, Esq., of Newcastle-on-Tyne, whence Sir Henry's father's second name. He (Henry Rawlinson) died at his seat, Grassyard Hall, near Lancaster, in January 1786, leaving two sons, twins, Abram Tyzack (the eldest by twenty minutes) and Henry Lindow, at the tender age of nine, to be brought up by their mother at Grassyard Hall, which she continued to make her residence. In due time the boys were sent to Rugby School, and passed from Rugby to Christ Church, Oxford (in 1795), which was then under the government of the celebrated Dean, Dr. Cyril Jackson, whose statue still adorns the cathedral. Unfortunately, as they were both of them heirs to landed estates of some value, it was necessary to matriculate them as 'Gentlemen Commoners'; and hence they were thrown into a set much superior to them in rank and wealth, whose chief idea of a University was, that it was a place where amusements of all kinds, and especially those of a sporting character, might be freely indulged in. Under these circumstances study was naturally neglected, and sport eagerly pursued. The twin brothers soon became known as two of the best riders in the Heythrop hunt, as good shots, and as skilled anglers. They did not leave the University without a degree; but of the real educational value of Oxford they took no account; they had probably no inkling.

Acquaintance with the amenities of the south, with Oxford, London, Newmarket, and 'Society,' produced in the twin brothers a great distaste for the north, for its roughness, its coarseness, its 'savagery.' Abram Tyzack Rawlinson had only just attained his majority, and come into his estate of Grassyard, when he sold this ancestral property for the purpose of buying an estate in the more civilised part of England. At the age of twenty-three he married[1] and looked out for a family mansion. It was some time before anything eligible presented itself. He married in 1800. After a sojourn of four years at Lower Slaughter, Gloucestershire, and of another year at the Ranger's Lodge, Wychwood Forest, Oxfordshire, in the year 1806 he invested the proceeds of the sale of Grassyard in an estate of about seven hundred acres at Chadlington, Oxfordshire, where he thenceforth resided till his death. The district was pre-eminently a sporting one. It lay in the centre of the Heythrop hunt, then presided over by the Duke of Beaufort; the meets of the Warwickshire hounds, and of one or two other packs, were within reasonable distance; there was excellent partridge shooting, and sufficient cover for breeding some scores of pheasants; the Evenlode, a gentle stream with occasional rapids, skirted the southern side of the estate, and boasted, beside jack and perch, a fair number of trout; in the winter wild duck, woodcock, and snipe were frequent visitants; the golden plover was sighted occasionally; while hares and rabbits were fairly plentiful, and on the upper farm a good day's sport could always be had with the greyhounds. In an agricultural point of view the property was also satisfactory. The land was chiefly arable, but comprised also a fair amount of pasture, together with eight or ten acres of woodland, lying in two separate patches, near the Evenlode. The whole lay on a gentle declivity, sloping from north to south, and extending about three miles from the Chipping Norton downs to the meadow tract upon the river. A. T. Rawlinson farmed the land himself with the assistance of a bailiff, and obtained from it an income of from 1,200*l.* to 1,500*l.* a year. He had also other property, in the West Indies and elsewhere, which must have brought his income, in good years, up nearly to 2,000*l.* The house was suitable for a person of such moderate means; it was comfortable and commodious, built in the shape of a gnomon, with the longer side facing the south-west. The situation was beautiful. A thick belt of well-grown trees, chiefly elms, guarded the mansion on the north and the north-east, separating it from the village and the church, and forming an effectual screen against the winds of winter and the still colder blasts of early spring. In front of the house was a flat terrace of smooth turf, bounded by a ha-ha, which divided it from a large grass field known as 'the Lawn,' but mown year by year, and producing generally an excellent crop of hay. Groups of elms, and two or three solitary oaks, broke this large 'pleasance' into portions, and threw their long shadows upon the greensward. Two ponds, a larger and a smaller, likewise diversified its surface, and afforded the inmates of the mansion the amusements of fishing in the summer and of skating in the winter time. They were well stocked from the first with jack, perch, and carp, and at a later date, with trout also. From the terrace the eye ranged, first, over the green expanse, and then across fields and copses and the Evenlode river to the smart slope beyond, crowned along the greater part of its length by the extensive woodland of Wychwood forest, but melting towards the west into the grey pastures of Shipton downs, and the ridge which separates between the valleys of the Evenlode and the Windrush. Eastward were to be seen the church towers of Spilsbury and Charlbury, and along the line of the horizon the woods of Henley Nap and Ditchley, while to the south-east, in the gap between Lee Place and Cornbury Park, a keen vision might discover the belt of trees protecting Wilcote House, and beyond it a faint trace of Cumnor and Witham.

---

[1] He married Eliza Eudocia Albinia Creswicke, daughter of Henry Martin Creswicke, Esq., of Moreton in the Marsh, Gloucestershire, whose son, Henry, dying unmarried, Eliza Eudocia Albinia and her elder sister, Anna Eugenia (afterwards Mrs. Richard Smith), became co-heiresses of their brother, and brought their respective husbands the sum of 20,000*l.* each.

Once settled in this charming abode, A. T. Rawlinson rapidly took his place among the gentry of Oxfordshire, became a Justice of the Peace, and a Deputy-Lieutenant for the county, attended petty sessions and quarter sessions, took an active part as guardian of the poor on the formation of the Chipping Norton Union, visited lunatic asylums, and in every way showed himself a most active and painstaking magistrate. At the same time he carefully superintended the management of his farm, and, when not engaged in magisterial business, was to be seen day after day riding from field to field, watching the operations, talking to the field labourers in friendly fashion, discussing matters with his bailiff, and this in all weathers, fine or wet, hot or cold, for six or seven hours at a stretch. Still, he did not altogether lay aside his sporting habits. In September and early October he shot a good deal, but chiefly over his own land; during the rest of the autumn and winter he hunted about twice or thrice a week, chiefly with the Heythrop hunt, of which the Duke of Beaufort early requested him to become a member. It was noted that he carried the blue and buff well forward whenever he made his appearance in the field, and that in a very short time he knew the country as well as the oldest *habitué*.

It might have been thought that these varied occupations would have fully exhausted the energies even of the most active man. But the fact was otherwise. Shortly after he settled at Chadlington, A. T. Rawlinson astonished his friends and relatives by adding to his other occupations and employments that of a keeper and breeder of race-horses. At the outset, he bought his animals, and raced them chiefly at Newmarket and Bibury; but later on, from about 1825, he purchased brood mares, and took to breeding his own stock, and running them in all parts of England, even in the far north, at Doncaster. Amateurs who venture upon the Turf have seldom very much success, but Mr. Rawlinson bred three race-horses of very considerable powers—Ruby, foaled in 1825, who ran second for the Oaks in 1828; Revenge, foaled in 1829, who ran third for the Derby and won the Drawing-Room Stakes at Goodwood in 1832; and Coronation, foaled in 1838, who won the Derby and ran second for the St. Leger in 1841. This last feat, in which a country gentleman of moderate means bred and trained and sent out from his own stable a Derby winner is unique in the history of the Turf, and will probably remain so. When Mr. Rawlinson was asked how he accounted for it he used to say: 'Oh! very easily; because my stud-groom could neither read nor write, and was stone deaf'—no one therefore could bribe him.

It was at Chadlington, amidst these surroundings, that Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, the subject of this memoir, was brought up. He was the seventh child of his parents, and, at his birth, had already five sisters and an elder brother, to whom were afterwards added, besides a brother who died in infancy, three more brothers, who grew up, making a family of eleven children. The education of so large a family, and especially of five sons, could not but be felt as a heavy burden; and the difficulty was aggravated by the period of extreme agricultural depression which followed on the close of the great Napoleonic war, and seriously crippled all those whose main income was derived from land. A. T. Rawlinson had sent his eldest son to Rugby at the usual age, but the education of his other sons had to be managed more cheaply, and was in consequence imperfect and desultory. For the first eleven years of his life Henry Creswicke Rawlinson was educated chiefly by his mother, who grounded him well in English grammar, in the rudiments of Latin, and in arithmetic. He received also some instruction from his sisters' governesses, and for a short time attended as a day scholar the school of Dr. Pocock at Bristol. To Bristol he had been sent in consequence of an ophthalmic attack, which threatened him with the loss of at least one eye, and actually impaired its vision throughout his whole lifetime. His mother's sister had married an eminent Bristol surgeon, Mr. Richard Smith; and it was thought that in the house of this gentleman, and under his superintendence, the disease might be best combated, and the eyesight saved. The result was a partial success, the vision of the right eye remaining wholly unimpaired, and that of the left only weakened, not destroyed. A further advantage resulted from the Bristol residence, or rather residences, for several visits were paid, extending over the space of some years (1815–1820), since Mrs. Richard Smith was a prominent figure in the Bristol literary world of the time, and dwelling in her house brought the boy in contact with several persons of considerable eminence, as Mrs. Hannah More, Mrs. Schimmelpenninck, author of the 'Memoirs of Port Royal' and an 'Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful'; the Rev. Robert Hall, Amos Cottle, the poet, and Dr. Spurzheim, the phrenologist. Such acquaintances tended to stir thought in the intelligent lad, and opened his mind to much that would have been a *terra incognita* to him had he had a mere country breeding. He became especially intimate with Mrs. Schimmelpenninck, his aunt's chief friend and companion, who engaged him frequently in conversation, and even taught him scraps of Hebrew.

Alternating between Chadlington and Bristol during his early boyhood—from 1810 to 1821—Henry Creswicke Rawlinson was familiar both with town and country life, when, at the age of eleven, he was at length sent to a boarding-school and began his preparation for the serious business of life. The school was situated at Wrington, in Somersetshire, and was presided over by a Mr. Davis, a hot-headed Welshman, whose attainments were moderate, and who received only about forty boarders. Here he remained for two years and a half—from January 1821 to June 1823—

and went through the ordinary *curriculum*—Greek, Latin, general history, arithmetic—but no modern languages and no mathematics. My brother never looked back to this portion of his life as of any great service to him. He amused himself tolerably well with practical jokes, such as dressing up as a ghost and frightening a girls' school; but he did not feel that he derived from his Wrington schooling any real advantage, either in the way of learning or of useful habits. He was only thirteen years of age, however, when he left Wrington, and was transferred to a sphere where his abilities had more opportunities of cultivation and development.

CHAPTER II

LATER EDUCATION—EALING—BLACKHEATH

EALING SCHOOL, to which Henry Creswicke Rawlinson was sent after quitting Wrington, has been recently characterised by the 'Times' as 'the best private school in England at a time when the tide of opinion had turned against public schools.'[1] It was the creation of a Dr. Nicholas, a Cambridge man, and rector of Perivale, Middlesex, where his tomb may be seen in the churchyard. At the time when my brother entered it, the school had been long established, had flourished greatly, and gave education to above three hundred boys. Among its *alumni* had been John Henry Newman, who went there in 1808 and left in 1816, after a stay of above eight years, being indebted to it for the whole of his school training and instruction; his brother, Francis William Newman, almost equally distinguished, though in a different way, Fellow of Balliol, Emeritus Professor of Latin in the University of London, and author of 'The Eclipse of Faith,' 'The Kings of Rome,' and various other works; Frank Howard, the artist and etcher, noted for his illustrations of Shakespeare's plays; Lord Macdonald, and his brother 'Jim,' well known in London society; Sir Robert Sale, of Afghan fame; Sir George Burrows, the physician; General Turner, and others of minor merit. Contemporary with my brother were Frederick Ayrton, Adviser to Mehemet Ali, ruler of Egypt; Acton Smee Ayrton, M.P., First Commissioner of Works in one of Mr. Gladstone's ministries; R. N. Wornum, author of a 'History of Painting'; and my unworthy self, author of more books than I like to think of. The great heroes of the school in my brother's time were John Henry and Francis Newman. The former had gained a scholarship at Trinity when he was under seventeen, had been placed in the second class *in Literis Humanioribus* at the age of nineteen, and had crowned his academical career by carrying off a Fellowship at Oriel—the most coveted of all Oxford honours at the time—before he was twenty-two. The latter had obtained a scholarship at Worcester straight from school in 1822, and was known to be reading steadily for double honours, with an excellent prospect of getting them. The examples of these two successful Oxonians were pressed on the attention of all Ealing boys of any promise in the decade between 1820 and 1830, and stirred many to exertions of which otherwise they might not have thought themselves capable. Henry Rawlinson did not look forward to a University career. He had always desired to enter the army, and had received from his brothers and sisters at a very early age the *sobriquet* of 'the General'; but the desire awoke within him, very soon after becoming a scholar of Ealing, of profiting by his opportunities and making as much progress in his studies as possible. While in no way withdrawing from the sports and games which were in favour among his contemporaries, he devoted his keenest attention and his most earnest efforts to the studies of the place. His industry and intelligence attracted the notice of his instructors, and induced them to do their utmost to further his progress in classical learning.

---

[1] See the *Times* of August 12, 1890, in an article on John Henry Newman.

His instructors, though not equal in capacity with those under whom he would have worked in almost any public school, were, nevertheless, far from incompetent. Dr. Nicholas was a sound scholar of the old school, a little deficient in the niceties of verse composition, but otherwise fairly advanced both in Latin and Greek—a man of quick intelligence, a good judge of character, and a good teacher. His sons, who were his chief assistants in the work of instruction, though falling below their father in vigour and energy, had in some other respects the advantage of him. They were comparatively fresh from Oxford and Cambridge, had a certain number of authors at their fingers' ends, and knew the points of scholarship on which most stress was commonly laid at the period. George, the elder of the two, had been captain of Eton, and had gone from Eton to King's College, Cambridge, where in the usual course he had been admitted to a Fellowship. He was a better Greek scholar than his father, a much better one than his brother, and had a pretty talent of stringing together Latin verses, especially elegiacs, in which he rivalled, if not Ovid, yet at any rate Pontanus and Politian. He taught well when he was in the humour for it; but he was lazy and self-indulgent, and ordinarily took little pains with his classes. To make progress under him it was necessary not so much to listen to what he said, as to imitate what he did. His own compositions were always correct, frequently elegant; but he scarcely ever told his pupils what was to be avoided, or what was to be aimed at. Still, it was impossible to attend his classes without catching some relish for the tone and spirit of antiquity, and for the beauties of the best authors. He read Homer, Æschylus, and Euripides with his classes, gave them some notion of writing Greek iambics, discussed with them Porson's emendations, and gave them an insight into Dawes's canons.

His brother, Francis Nicholas, was very inferior to him as a scholar. He had been sent from Ealing to Wadham College, at no time a seat of much learning, had not succeeded in obtaining a scholarship, and had gained no distinction in the schools. Still, he had certain books at his fingers' ends. He knew thoroughly his Livy (Dec. ii.), his Xenophon, his Virgil, his 'Cicero de Officiis.' At these he ground away indefatigably. He was acute, he was painstaking, he was vigilant. No boy under him could shirk his work without detection, or without entailing upon himself a pretty severe punishment. He prepared boys exceedingly well for an ordinary degree, and I do not remember a single one of the pupils whom he sent up to Oxford being 'plucked.' If the school owed much to George Nicholas's scholastic elegance, I am not sure that it did not owe more to Frank Nicholas's care, diligence, and untiring energy.

Henry Creswicke Rawlinson was only under the influence of these teachers for less than two years and a half—from August 1824 to May 1826. But he was at an impressionable time of life, and he always attributed to this period of his education the firm hold which he obtained on the classical languages and the facility with which he could master the contents of almost any Latin or Greek prose book. When he joined the school he was placed at the bottom of the third class, about fifty places from the top. When he left it, he was high up in the first class, and was by general acknowledgment first in Greek and second in Latin of the whole school.

Nor was this proficiency gained at the cost of physical training. In all the games of the school—prisoners' base, cricket, football, fives, the young scholar took an active part. He was especially expert at fives, and was frequently associated with the principal masters in the play wherein they were wont to indulge during the long summer evenings. Fives at Ealing was not the humble knock-up game then customary at Eton between the chapel buttresses, and still favoured by many first-rate schools and even Universities. It was an athletic exercise of the highest order. The court wherein it was played was as large as many a tennis-court—from sixty to seventy yards long by twenty yards broad, neatly paved with the best paving-stones over its whole surface, and having a brick wall at the end, nearly forty feet high. No bat or racket was allowed, but the simple hand employed; and to return the ball from the extreme end of the court after a long run was a trial not of skill only, but of strength and training. Henry Rawlinson advanced during the years which he spent at Ealing as much in physical development as in scholarship; he grew to be six feet high, broad-chested, strong limbed, with excellent thews and sinews, and at the same time with a steady head, a clear sight, and a nerve that few of his co-mates equalled.

The whole credit of this growth in physical strength and vigour must not, however, be ascribed to Ealing. The home life of the lad during the vacations also contributed to it. At Chadlington he indulged in all the time-honoured country sports—shot, fished, hunted—in almost every pursuit showing a keenness and a skill that brought him into the front rank and drew attention. Invited by Lord Normanton to accompany his father to shooting-parties in the Ditchley woods, he began by shooting at and killing every pheasant, whether his own bird or not, that rose from the covert, before it was five yards from the ground; and afterwards, when instructed that his procedure was not quite *comme-il-faut*, contented himself with reserving his shots until Lord Normanton had fired, and then, in sporting phrase, 'wiping his lordship's eye.' In the hunting field, though never well mounted, and sometimes having to force along a wretched 'screw,' he always found his way to the front, and seldom failed to be 'in at the death.' In fishing he was less distinguished, but still took a pleasure in the employment. His life during the holidays was almost entirely an out-of-doors one; and the combined result of school and home life was as has been described in the last paragraph.

It has been said that the boy is not worth much who does not sometimes get into scrapes. Henry Rawlinson was no exception. He had, I think, but one 'fight' at Ealing—a combat with a French boy, named Mabille, a native of the Mauritius. In this he was easily victorious; but fighting was not allowed, and if he had been found out he would have been punished. However, fortunately for him, the matter escaped notice, and no punishment followed. But somewhat later there was a 'scrape' which almost involved a catastrophe. Two boys, Henry Rawlinson and another, made up their minds to go to London for the purpose of being present at an opera written by one of the dancing masters, by name Macfarren, who was no mean playwright. They had to walk the distance—seven miles—and to walk back. The play would not be over till nearly twelve o'clock, and thus they would have to be out the greater part of the night. Of course this was not allowed, neither was it permitted to go to London without leave. Arrangements therefore had to be made. As a master slept in our bedroom, I was instructed before going to sleep to make up a figure in my brother's bed, which might pass for him in the dim light, and deceive the master. I sacrificed my bolster, tied a string round it, near the top, to make a head and a body, and then, putting my brother's nightcap on the head and his nightgown on the body, carefully placed the dummy between the sheets, arranged the clothes as naturally as I could, and waited anxiously for the master's coming. Unluckily he was accustomed before turning in for the night to have a chat with my brother, who seldom went to bed early. He therefore called to him: 'Rawlinson, wake up. I want a talk with you.' No answer. 'Rawlinson,' again, 'wake up.' A dead silence. Exasperated but unsuspicious, the master took one of his boots and hurled it at the sleeping figure. The boot was well aimed; it hit the figure in the back, but still there was no sound—no movement. Another boot followed and hit the figure plump on the head, but with no better result than the previous throw. 'Come, I must see what this means,' said the thrower. He sprang from his bed, tore the bed-clothes off the supposed sleeper, and discovered the trick played upon him. Tossing the lay figure contemptuously on the floor, he returned to his bed, and 'slept the sleep of the just.' I also, as soon as I could, composed myself to rest. About five o'clock the wanderers returned, after climbing over walls and palings. My brother saw what had happened, but quietly crept into bed. When morning came, the question was what would be the punishment? It might be expulsion; it might be flogging; it might be some lesser penalty. The two culprits were called up before Frank Nicholas and made a clean breast of what they had done. They were sentenced to learn the 'Ars Poetica' of Horace by heart, and to say it without a mistake within a fortnight. My brother performed the task without difficulty, but his companion in crime failed, and was expelled.

It was not long after this that Henry Rawlinson received information of his nomination to an appointment—a cadetship—under the East India Company. His actual nominator was William Taylor Money, one of the directors; but the person to whom he really owed his appointment was his mother's half-brother, Mr. John Hinde Pelly, an old Indian Civil Servant, whose interest procured it for him. Henry Rawlinson was just sixteen at this time; and as his nomination was direct, and did not involve passing through Addiscombe, he might have sailed at once, and have entered on his military duties. But there were objections to this rapid procedure. His youth was thought to be an objection, and also his want of any special preparation for the Indian Military Service. He had no knowledge of any Oriental language; he was quite ignorant of mathematics, of surveying, and of military drawing; he had not even learnt fencing or drill. Accordingly friends advised a six months' course of reading with a private tutor, under whom these deficiencies might be made good. The person selected to undertake the charge was a certain Dr. Myers, who had been for a time a master at Woolwich, and had thence transferred his abode to Blackheath, where he took a limited number of pupils. Here my brother studied Hindustani and Persian, military drawing, surveying, and advanced mathematics. He used to speak of the six months as 'wasted,' and to regret that he had not gone straight out to India in the summer of 1826; but the only real 'waste' was in the matter of the Oriental languages, which could have been learnt under *moonshees* in India in one-tenth of the time. The other studies must have been of enormous advantage to him, when, as a geographical explorer, he had to lay down maps of regions previously unsurveyed, and to submit them to such severe critics as the Committee of the Royal Geographical Society. Nor can his mathematical knowledge have been unserviceable to him when it became his business to take observations, to determine longitudes, and to estimate the altitudes of mountains. Perhaps if the whole of the time spent at Blackheath had been devoted to scientific and none of it to linguistic studies the result might have been better; but the scientific training received was eminently beneficial, and if not absolutely necessary to the soldier, was of immense advantage to the explorer.

Physically, also, the stay at Dr. Myers's benefited him. He was better set up when he returned from Blackheath than when he went there. His form was more upright, his figure more soldierly. He had also become a soldier in his thoughts and aspirations. We, his younger brothers, were made to go through the broad-sword exercise continually, and listened delightedly to accounts of the Burmese war, and to forecasts of the exploits which he intended to achieve, if the war continued, and he was so fortunate as to take part in it. A tree still stands in a field at Chadlington, not far from the house, hacked and hewn about its stem and its lower branches by the young aspirant to military glory, in illustration of the wounds which he meant to inflict on his barbarian antagonists. We four younger boys were all at home together at this period, Henry's education being completed, and our school studies having been broken into in consequence of a severe attack of fever, which had prostrated all three of us. We thus enjoyed our best-loved brother's society for two or three months continuously in the spring and early summer of 1827, before parting from him for an interval, the length of which we could not anticipate, but which actually turned out to be one of twenty-two years.

CHAPTER III

DEPARTURE FOR INDIA—VOYAGE TO BOMBAY—LIFE AS A SUBALTERN OFFICER

In the year 1827 there was no 'overland route,' no 'Suez Canal,' no steam communication between England and her Asiatic possessions. A berth had to be taken for Henry Rawlinson in a sailing vessel bound for Bombay, which it was calculated would reach her destination in about four months. The ship selected was the *Neptune*, an old East Indiaman, built in the war time, and pierced for six guns, to enable her to defend herself against the French privateers. She was commanded by Commander Cumberbatch, an experienced captain, and was a good sailer and a thoroughly seaworthy vessel. The port from which she was to start was London, but she was to touch at Portsmouth, which was a fortunate circumstance for my brother, since otherwise he might have missed his passage.

Having got his kit on board, and understanding that the *Neptune* would not sail for some days, he ventured to run down to Cheltenham, where the races were going on, and his father had a horse about to run. Suddenly, as he was upon the course, an express messenger came up to him and delivered a letter which told him that the ship had started from London, and was on its way down the English Channel. Recognising that he had no time to lose, he at once rushed off from the course, made his way to London, where he had still some necessary business to transact, and then hurried on to Portsmouth, where he just caught his vessel (June 27).

There was a large number of passengers on board, the most distinguished of them being Sir John Malcolm, who was going out to Bombay to discharge the office of Governor, his daughter, Lady Campbell, and Sir Alexander Campbell, his son-in-law. The course taken after quitting the Channel was by way of Madeira across the Atlantic to Trinidad, where the 'trades' were caught, and an excellent passage made to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence round the Cape and across the Indian Ocean to Bombay. The voyage occupied exactly four months, the passengers reaching the *terra firma* of Bombay on October 27.

A voyage of four months' duration is a dull affair, unless some special amusements can be started to occupy attention and speed the laggard flight of time. After a short experience of ship-board, it occurred to Henry Rawlinson that the production of a weekly newspaper might agreeably fill some considerable portion of the idle hours which hung so heavily on his own and his companions' hands. Accordingly he started the idea among his fellow-passengers. It was approved and warmly taken up. Many expressed themselves as willing to contribute articles; others undertook the drudgery of making copies, since the newspaper had to circulate in manuscript, as there was no printing press on board. He was himself requested to become editor, and gladly undertook the duty, which he continued to discharge until the voyage came to a conclusion. This position brought him specially under the notice of Sir John Malcolm, the

Governor of the Presidency to which he too was about to belong. The subjoined passages from Kaye's 'Life' of Sir John have a reference to this period, and are not devoid of a certain interest :—

> It is pleasant to be able to record (says the historian) that the newspaper edited on board the *Neptune* during Malcolm's passage out was edited by a young Bombay cadet, in whom he (Malcolm) recognised the dawning genius, the full meridian of which he was not destined to see. The youthful editor was Henry Creswicke Rawlinson. It was to Malcolm that he owed the first direction of his mind to Oriental literature. There was nothing at this time in which the new Governor of Bombay more delighted—nothing, indeed, which he regarded as a more solemn duty—than the endeavour to raise, in the young men by whom he was surrounded, aspirations after worthy objects, to teach them to regard with earnestness and solemnity the career before them, and to encourage them in that application by which alone success can be achieved.[1]

And again :—

> Malcolm (on his voyage) employed some of his young friends in copying his manuscripts, and I have often thought, that if Rawlinson was so employed, it is not difficult to conjecture where he took his first lesson in deciphering strange hieroglyphics. [Note: When a few months ago, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, the accomplished master of that college gave directions for the Babylonian cylinder (an unique specimen of the reign of Nergal-shar-ezer) which Malcolm had presented to the library to be packed and sent to Rawlinson, that he might decipher the characters upon its surface, it was interesting to think of this old connection between the two eminent men, and of the pleasure it would have given to

---

[1] Kaye's *Life of Sir John Malcolm*, vol. ii. p. 496.

Malcolm to know that his sometime pupil had become the most distinguished Orientalist of the age.][1]

The chief influence which Sir John Malcolm really exerted on Henry Rawlinson at this time seems to have been in turning his attention towards Persia—the land, the language, the literature, and the history. He was never tired of speaking on these subjects, and day after day, evening after evening, he amused or wearied the *clientèle* that he had gathered around him with long 'yarns' on Persian subjects, which to Henry Rawlinson were extremely interesting. I find my brother noting two years afterwards, in one of those brief and meagre diaries which he kept occasionally, but very irregularly, that he commenced the study of the Persian language with a *moonshee* chiefly in consequence of what he had heard from Sir John on board the *Neptune* with respect to Persian literature and Persian history. As this study of Persian led to the selection of Henry Rawlinson in the year 1833 as one of the officers sent from India to Persia to aid in drilling and disciplining the Shah's army, and as that appointment turned his attention to cuneiform decipherment, Sir John Malcolm's influence on his career may be said to have been considerable; but it was indirect, and, so to speak, accidental. There was little communication between them after they disembarked from the *Neptune*, the young cadet being engaged in his military duties and Sir John in troubles connected with the office of Governor.

Henry Rawlinson landed at Bombay on October 27, 1827, at the age of seventeen, and made his way to the 'cadets' quarters.' He was at first attached to the

---

[1] Kaye's *Life of Sir John Malcolm*, vol. ii. p. 497.

2nd European Infantry Regiment, the 'Bombay Buffs,' as they were called, but in the June following (1828) was transferred to the 7th Native Infantry Regiment, and a little later on was posted to the 1st Bombay Grenadiers, and ordered to join the regiment without delay at Ahmedabad. Thus his first stay at Bombay was a very brief one. He utilised it, however, by at once throwing himself into the study of Hindustani, and with such success, that, after a single repulse at the close of three months, he passed the Interpreters' examination at the end of six months, and was shortly afterwards appointed to be Interpreter, as well as Quarter-master and Paymaster, to his regiment.

The winter of 1828–29 was spent at Ahmedabad—much as it was spent by other juvenile cadets—in hunting, shooting, ball-going, billiard and racquet-playing, and the like. Unlike, however, most of his contemporaries, Henry Rawlinson combined with these lighter occupations a large amount of study and reading. He read a great deal of history at this time, and became such a *helluo librorum*, that, in gratifying his passion, he unfortunately outran the constable, and having bought more books than he could pay for from a native dealer, was actually arrested for the debt (20*l.*)—the only time that he was ever arrested in his life. At the same time he continued his study of languages, and having succeeded in mastering the Mahratta dialect, passed the examination, and obtained the Mahratta Interpretership to his regiment soon after his return to Bombay from Ahmedabad in the spring of 1829. He also contributed articles at this period to the Bombay newspapers, chiefly short poems, in which the versification was smooth, but the tone rather too Byronic for our modern taste. Altogether the Ahmedabad sojourn was a time of much enjoyment to him—he stood on the borderland between boyhood and manhood—his health was good, his spirits were unfailing, and his prospects satisfactory; he was a general favourite with his brother officers, had sufficient means, and was smiled on by society.

His regiment returned from Ahmedabad to Bombay towards the end of March 1829, and Henry Rawlinson returned with it. And now a time of comparative idleness set in. Henry Rawlinson threw himself into the life of social dissipation with the same vigour which he showed in school studies, in the sports of the field, in geographical research, and in linguistic investigations. Besides being distinguished in all athletic and manly exercises, he was at Bombay, in 1829, steward of the balls, manager of the theatre, head of the billiard and racquet rooms, general getter-up of parties, arranger of pigeon matches, and a sort of honorary master of the ceremonies at all dinner parties and social gatherings. In outward appearance he was the gayest of the gay, a choice specimen of the *jeunesse dorée* of the time and place. Secretly, however, he contrived to combine with this apparent life of mere amusement a considerable amount of study. 'While this was going on,' he says in a note-book, 'I was educating myself by an extensive course of reading. It is from this period (1829) that my passion for books dates.'

The year 1830 brought a change of scene, but no great change of occupation. The 1st Grenadiers were ordered to Poonah, and Henry Rawlinson went with them, remaining in Guzerat for a space of over three years (1830–1833). Dictating to an amanuensis in 1884, Sir H. Rawlinson said of this period: 'I always look back upon these three years as the most enjoyable of my life. I had excellent health, was in the heyday of youth, had tremendous spirits, was distinguished in all athletic amusements—riding, shooting, and especially hunting—and had the whole world before me.' The officers of the 1st Grenadiers were a sporting set, and rode, shot, raced, betted, gambled almost without intermission. Henry Rawlinson held his own among them. He kept several hunters and more than one race-horse, was indefatigable in the pursuit of the wild boar, and, indeed, was good at sports of all kinds. A challenge, which he gave while quartered at Poonah, will show the extent and variety of his accomplishments. He offered to compete with any rival, for the stake of 100*l.*, in running, jumping, quoits, racquets, billiards, pigeon-shooting, pig-sticking, steeple-chasing, chess, and games of skill at cards. His challenge was not accepted, so generally was it felt that he was *facile princeps* in such matters. But the most striking feat belonging to this period of his life was a race against time, which largely attracted the attention of the sporting world both in India and in England. The 'Sporting Magazine' of the year 1832 gave an account of it under the heading of 'Extraordinary Road Match in India'; but the subjoined description, dictated by my brother himself, will probably possess a higher interest for the general reader :—

Behold a group assembled in the Poonah high road outside the Grenadier mess-house, and close to the Bombay milestone marking seventy miles according to the old road from Panwell, the Bombay port, two of the group being umpires in charge of a chronometer, and another, Lieutenant Rawlinson, aged twenty-two, attired in hunting costume, jockey cap, thick ticking jacket, with a watch sewn into the waistband, samber-skin breeches, and a pair of easy old boots. ‘How do you feel?’ says his friend. ‘All right? Time's nearly up.’ ‘Oh! all right,’ says the lieutenant, and jumps into the saddle, which is fitted on a cross-grained grey horse, held carefully by two ‘syces’ or grooms. Almost at the same moment the starter called out, ‘Time's up! Off!’ The grooms loosed the bridle, and the grey, which had been fidgeting for some time at the bustle and novelty of the scene, made a determined bolt for the corner of the prickly-pear hedge which ran close by. It was such a near thing that a prickly-pear branch brushed against the rider, and, but for the samber-skin breeches, would have seriously hurt his knee. Another moment, and the grey was tearing down the road to Bombay at the rate of a hundred miles an hour, his rider sitting him steadily, and holding him fast by the head. At so early an hour in the morning (5.15) there were not many people on the road, and the grey therefore reached the Semgun bridge—about a mile from the starting-post—without a check. The narrow bridge, however, was seen to be so crowded with carts and foot-passengers as to be almost impassable, and Mr. Rawlinson therefore dashed into the river by its side. Fortunately there was very little water in the stream, but the bed being composed almost entirely of bare sheets of rock and large smooth boulders, there was some difficulty in scrambling over. With the help of his spurs, however, and of a strong hold on the horse's head, the rider managed to accomplish it. Once through the stream and off the slippery rock, the grey sped up the opposite bank like an arrow! There was now a gentle steady rise for about five miles along a good metalled road, so the rider had nothing to do but to sit quiet on his steed, and take care that he was not wholly ‘pumped out’ before the time came to change horses. The first change was made at about six miles from the starting-point, where a fresh horse, ready saddled and bridled, was waiting to be mounted. Mr. Rawlinson jumped off the grey, and sprang on to the new animal, which was a much better roadster than the preceding one, and carried his rider the remaining six miles of the first stage, to Penowli, without adventure.

At Penowli, twelve and a half miles from Poonah, Mr. Rawlinson mounted his third horse, an old white Arab, not very steady on his pins, but full of 'go,' and good-tempered. As the distance which this animal had to carry him was only five miles and a half, he considered that he might 'put on the steam,' and accordingly, turning off to the left, he galloped across the smooth soft down, instead of hammering along the hard high road, for the space of about five miles to the point where he had ordered that his fourth horse should meet him. Trusting that his orders would have been exactly carried out, he ventured to press the old Arab somewhat hardly, and had pretty nearly 'pumped him out' by the time that he regained the high road at the point where the groom with the fresh horse was to have met him. What, then, was his horror when, on reaching the road, he saw the man and horse awaiting him nearly a quarter of a mile in advance! The Arab could not move another step, so his rider had no resource but to jump down and run along the road—uphill all the way—towards his relay, at the same time shouting to the groom to come on and meet him. This the man did; but Mr. Rawlinson reckoned that this *contretemps* lost him a full five minutes.

On changing to his fourth horse, his troubles were over for the time. This animal was a nice, compact, iron-grey hack, and carried him at a good fast pace, without the slightest check or hindrance, a distance of six and a half miles to Wargan, where he found his fifth horse—a racer of some note, called 'Vivian Grey'—and, mounting him, proceeded across country instead of along the road, a distance of over eleven miles, at full gallop. This was the fastest and pleasantest bit of riding in the whole race. Vivian Grey carried him delightfully; and he reached Carli, confident that the match was as good as won, and the stakes in his pocket. Here, however, his worst troubles began. The sixth horse, a dun country-bred one, had escaped from the groom's hands early in the morning, and was careering about the country until within a few minutes of Mr. Rawlinson's arrival. Of course, if he had not been caught, the match must have been lost, for it would have been impossible to extemporise a substitute. It must be noted also, that there were known to be at this season of the year many droves of bullocks, laden with salt or grain, upon the road between Panwell and Poonah. In view of this, a friend of Mr. Rawlinson's had, the night before, ridden down the line, and made an arrangement with the chief drovers, paying to each a douceur on the promise that they would not leave their camping-grounds before 8.30. Hitherto the compact had been strictly observed, but at Carli the head drover failed to keep his word; and when Lieut. Rawlinson had proceeded a few miles beyond that place, he found the road completely obstructed by laden bullocks. At one point, indeed, where there was a steep embankment on either side, the press was so great that further progress seemed impossible. At length, however, what with scrambling over the backs of the bullocks, squeezing between their horns, and belabouring them soundly with a thick whip, he managed to get through, having his breeches pretty well torn to ribbons by the way. The old dun turned out a 'trump,' and got into Candalah none the worse for his burst among the bullocks, having accomplished his nine miles under the half hour.

At Candalah began the descent of the Ghauts. Lieut. Rawlinson had selected for this critical portion of the ride a bay Arab horse from his own stables. spirited and hot-tempered, but extremely sure-footed; and he cantered on him quietly for the first mile to the brink of the descent. At this point was stationed an engineer officer, who held a watch in his hand, timing the match; and he gave the time to the rider as he passed, but by some accident gave it wrongly—a full hour too late. Lieutenant Rawlinson referred to his wrist watch and noted the discrepancy; but, as he had met with rather rough treatment among the bullocks, and it was not impossible that his watch might have gone wrong, he could not assume that the officer had made a mistake. He therefore felt bound to 'put on steam' from this point, and consequently he dashed down the decline at full speed. The Arab, unaccustomed to such treatment, threw up his head—the lip strap broke, and, the bit turning in the horse's mouth, the rider lost all control over him. Under these circumstances the only thing to do seemed to be to sit quiet, and trust to the sure-footedness of the animal. The Arab took the zigzags with perfect regularity and without a stumble, looking over the precipice at each corner some 2,000 or 3,000 feet down into the Coucan, but never swerving. Towards the end of the descent, he grew a little more quiet, and, lowering his head, allowed the bit to fall back into its proper place, whereupon the rider resumed full control over his steed, and had no further difficulty with him. The pace, however, during the run-away had been very good indeed, the four miles from Candalah to Kolapoor, including the precipitous descent of the Ghaut, having been accomplished within the quarter of an hour.

Here, for the first and only time in the whole race, the rider took some refreshment, swallowing a draught of cold tea. Then he mounted a good strong Arab hunter of his own, to which he was well accustomed, and hoped accordingly to complete the next stage of ten miles to Chowk, for which he had two mounts, in good style and without difficulty. But, as it turned out, it was just here that he had his most narrow escape, and was within an ace of 'coming to grief.'

The road lies through a plain country; but it is very much broken with rocks, and ravines, and stony beds of rivers, considerable obstacles to locomotion. At one point especially a very nasty rocky river-bed was crossed by a narrow bridge without balustrade or railing; and Lieutenant Rawlinson, as he was approaching this bridge, saw a bullock-cart drawn by two span of oxen coming from the opposite direction, and already occupying the crazy structure. The oxen, moreover, as it appeared, saw him, and alarmed at the weird figure approaching them at so great a pace, swerved straight across the road and stood dumbfoundered. It was impossible to pull up; it was impossible to descend the embankment and make a dash across the river; nothing remained but to push straight forward. So the adventurous horseman rammed in his spurs and rode at the obstacle, but, nearing it, managed to scrape round the heads of the oxen, and to pass between their horns and the unguarded edge of the roadway. There was but just room. One of the horns of the nearest bullock inflicted a wound upon the shoulder of the gallant steed, while his hind legs at one time actually overhung the river! It was an exceedingly narrow escape, and made the rider draw a long breath as he passed on his way.

The second half of this stage was accomplished without adventure on an Arab charger belonging to the adjutant of Lieutenant Rawlinson's regiment, a strong and sure-footed animal, though not remarkable for pace.

There still remained the last stage of this adventurous ride. From Chowk to the Panwell tavern is a distance of about twelve and a half miles, and for this Lieutenant Rawlinson had again two mounts. The first of these was a flea-bitten grey hunter of his own, called 'Tickle-me-gently,' very sure-footed, and well-known at the jungle side. 'Tickle-me-gently' did the half-stage in very good time, and pulled up at a point on the road where the last mount was waiting, ready saddled and bridled. Here, then, Lieutenant Rawlinson mounted his last horse—a very nice active high-bred Arab racer, called 'Eden,' who for several miles bowled along at a good pace, carrying his rider rapidly and well. As the road, however, approached the sea-coast, it was laid on a high embankment with built-up sides; and here Lieutenant Rawlinson found his horse clinging persistently to the near side of the road and not to be diverted from it. At first he thought that the swerve was merely casual, and touched the horse with the left spur to keep him straight. But no—the swerve grew worse and worse, finally becoming a decided jib or bolt; and he was obliged to put the animal's head at the embankment, and scramble up it, and down the *revêtement* on the other side, as he could. Of course the horse 'came to grief' at the bottom, and he himself received a severe blow on the knee and was thrown from the saddle. He soon got up from the ground, shook himself together, and led his horse to a place where the bank could be ascended and the road reached. He then remounted and pursued his course. It afterwards turned out that the animal had been kept during the preceding night at a stable a few hundred yards from the embankment, and, recognising the spot, had proposed to re-occupy quarters which he had found comfortable!

For the last three miles of the ride the scene resembled a popular ovation, several hundreds, or rather thousands, of villagers having assembled from all points of the compass to witness the finish of this wonderful time race, which was supposed to have been accomplished on a single horse from Poonah to Panwell within the hour! The excitement was intense as Lieutenant Rawlinson rode into the compound of the Parsee tavern, and roused from their sleep the umpires, who had not expected his arrival for at least another hour. On breaking the seals of the chronometers, the time was found to be 8.17 A.M., the match being thus won, with fifty-three minutes to spare.

Still, amid all his various and, as one might have thought, absorbing amusements, Henry Rawlinson continued his studies. 'At Poonah,' he says in a diary, under the head of the year 1833, 'I read a great deal, and passed a first-class examination in Persian.'

NOTE.—The terms of the bet were:—'To ride from Poonah to Panwell in four hours—the stake to be 100*l.* —a forfeit of one hundred rupees to be paid for every minute over the four hours, and the same amount to be guaranteed to the rider for every minute under that time.' The start was made from Poonah at 5.10 A.M. The arrival at Panwell took place at 8.17 A.M. Time occupied, 3 hours 7 minutes. Distance, 72 miles.

CHAPTER IV

REMOVAL TO PERSIA—VOYAGE TO BUSHIRE—LIFE IN PERSIA DURING 1833 AND 1834

In the year 1833 political exigencies, connected with the rivalry between England and Russia, induced the Governor-General of India, Lord William Bentinck, to determine on sending a small detachment of native troops to Persia, accompanied by eight officers, with the primary object of drilling and improving the Shah's army. It was essential that the officers sent upon this service should be familiar with the Persian language, and orders to this effect were forwarded to the presidential Governors, to whom a certain number of the appointments were confided. One of these was Lord Clare, Governor of Bombay, whose son, the Hon. G. Upton, was a particular friend of Henry Rawlinson's. When, about April 1833, the matter was first mooted in the Presidency, Upton asked his friend Rawlinson if he would like to accompany the detachment, and, being answered in the affirmative, made interest for him with his father, the Governor. At first, however, he was unsuccessful, the place which Henry Rawlinson desired to fill being assigned by Lord Clare to a Mr. Powell, his military secretary. The Indian Government, as it happened, refused to confirm this appointment, on the ground of Mr. Powell's not being an *Indian* officer; and his first nomination having thus fallen through, Lord Clare was induced to nominate, in the second instance, his son's friend. No exception was, or could be, taken to this appointment; and thus Lieutenant Rawlinson, whose linguistic acquirements were well known, and no doubt had considerable weight in his selection, became attached to the small body of troops sent at this important juncture from India to Persia. He was at the same time appointed staff-officer to the detachment.

On October 26, 1833, six years almost exactly from the date of his landing in India, Henry Rawlinson went on board the *Clyde*, in the harbour of Bombay, with seven brother officers [1] and a small detachment of troops, and set sail for the port of Bushire. The *Clyde* was commanded by Captain Fitz-James, who was afterwards second in command to Sir John Franklin in one of his polar expeditions, and perished in the Arctic regions. The present voyage, however, was wholly prosperous, the ship landing her passengers at Bushire early in November without any mischance. Thus began what my brother used to call 'the most momentous change in his whole life.'

It was not intended by the authorities that the detachment should make any prolonged halt at Bushire. Bushire is a most wretched place, and has no objects of interest in its near neighbourhood. The intention was, after a brief stay, to push forward rapidly through the mountain passes, and across the Persian highland, to Teheran, the capital, where the Shah, who had been apprised of the despatch of the troops, was anxiously awaiting them. But an immediate advance was found to be impossible. The mountains which separate the low coast tract about Bushire from the great Iranic plateau are of the most formidable character; the passes which traverse them are narrow and precipitous; when blocked with snow they become absolutely impenetrable; and any attempt to cross the great range, or rather ranges, leads necessarily to a catastrophe. On arriving at Bushire, Colonel Pasmore, the commander of the detachment, was informed that the passes were already blocked by heavy falls of snow, and were consequently impassable. He therefore, very judiciously, ordered a prolonged halt, and kept the detachment under cover at Bushire from early in November to early in February. This interval of three months enabled him to arrange for transport, about which there was considerable difficulty, to organise a caravan, and to obtain a sufficiency of baggage animals, with their drivers. Notwithstanding this delay, the start was made full early—soon after the beginning of the month —and for some time no great difficulty was encountered. Deep snow, however, detained the detachment for a considerable time in the vicinity of Shiraz, and Lieutenant Rawlinson was enabled to indulge his antiquarian tastes by a visit to the cave of Shapur, with its interesting Sassanian remains,[1] as well as by an excursion to Persepolis, where he first saw cuneiform inscriptions *in situ*, and made copies of a considerable number. More snow was encountered between Shiraz and Ispahan, where the detachment was again detained

---

[1] Colonel Shiel (brother of R. Lalor Shiel, M.P.) and Colonel Farrant were the two most distinguished officers of the detachment, and Lieutenant Rawlinson's principal friends.

---

[1] On this visit Lieutenant Rawlinson met with an adventure which he was fond of narrating. He was informed at Shiraz that a famous robber chief, and his son, had possession of the entire country about Shapur, but that the son, Bakir Khan, was at bottom a thoroughly good fellow, and particularly friendly to Englishmen. He therefore prepared himself to conciliate his favour in case of falling in with him. Besides providing presents of the ordinary character, he also, with a regard to Bakir Khan's reputation as a hard drinker, put aside a certain number of bottles of sherry and brandy for his especial benefit. Accompanied by two other officers of the detachment, he rode from Shiraz to Shapur, visited and sketched the ruins, and copied a number of inscriptions, without falling in with anyone who had the least appearance

of being a suspicious character. In the afternoon, however, he and his companions determined to visit the celebrated 'Cave of Shapur,' which was at the top of a steep hill. They therefore dismounted, left their horses to their grooms, and ascended on foot. The ascent was difficult, the day hot, and Lieutenant Rawlinson's two companions very shortly gave in, and left him to pursue his explorations by himself. He, however, persevered, succeeded in reaching the summit, found the cave, and remained there a couple of hours, when he thought that it was time to descend, remount his horse, and return to camp. Scarcely was he in the saddle, when he observed a Persian horseman in the brushwood, at no great distance on his right; then another, as near him, on his left; then others, rather further off, both in front and in rear. It was evident that he was surrounded. His groom, however, told him not to be afraid—the men were followers of Bakir Khan, and he could see that chief himself in the bottom on the banks of the river. There was nothing for it but to put a bold face on the matter and make the best of it. So he turned his horse, descended the hill, and rode straight up to the robber chief, saluting him. Bakir gave him a pretty friendly reception, but reproached him with having come like a spy, without any warning, and with endeavouring to escape observation. Had he had warning, he would have sent an escort to meet so distinguished a guest, and have prepared a feast in his honour. Lieutenant Rawlinson excused himself as best he could, and a pleasant chat followed, which was terminated by the chief's saying: 'It is desperately hot here. Do you happen to have anything to drink with you?' The lieutenant signed to the groom to bring out the brandy and a drinking-cup. It happened that this last was of rather large dimensions, holding about a pint. The groom handed it to the robber chief, and then began to pour, expecting to be stopped. But the chief made no sign—the cup was filled to the brim, raised to his lips, and three-quarters emptied at a draught. Then suddenly he stopped, staggered, and almost fell to the ground. Immediately a dozen matchlocks were unslung, and their muzzles pointed at the Englishman, who had the presence of mind to spring forward, catch the robber chief, and snatching the cup from his hand, drink off the remainder of the liquor. His action caused the matchlock-men to pause; and, as they paused, the chief began to recover, raised himself up, and said: 'Sahib, what was that delicious liquor that you gave me? I thought it was sherry, but if so, it must have been the father of all the sherries. What was it?' 'It was brandy,' replied my brother, 'the strongest of all liquors; but I had heard that you could drink anything, so I thought it wouldn't hurt you.' 'Ah, well,' ejaculated the chief, 'it's all right now. It was very strong, but it for a week. The route then lay through Kashan and Kum to Teheran, which was reached about the middle of March without much further trouble. On the way, however, the adventurous spirit of the young lieutenant led him into an enterprise which might have had serious consequences. He had heard much of Kum as a sacred city, and the glories of the shrine of Fatima had been greatly extolled to him; it was said never to have been entered by a European, and whispered that instant death would be the portion of the audacious infidel who should be found intruding into its hallowed precincts. A hint of danger is an irresistible attraction to a young and ardent spirit. Henry Rawlinson resolved at once that he would penetrate into the shrine. Disguised as a Persian pilgrim, he joined the crowd which thronged the temple gates, made his way with them into the adytum, and approached the tomb of the saint. The guardian gave him the customary form of words, and he repeated them; but shortly afterwards his eye was attracted by some magnificent suits of steel armour which hung upon the walls, and he found with a thrill of alarm, that while curiously contemplating them and speculating upon their age and origin, he had almost turned his back upon the sacred spot where the saint lay—the cynosure of all the eyes of 'true believers.' Fortunately for him, his lapse was not remarked—it had been little more than momentary—otherwise, in all probability, a promising career would then and there have been cut short, and a light lost to philological, geographical, and diplomatic

---

was very good!' Bakir Khan, during the remainder of his life, always behaved well to Englishmen; but the Turkish Government naturally resented his robber practices; and he was hunted down and shot not many years after Lieutenant Rawlinson's interview with him.

science, with which they could ill have afforded to dispense.

The detachment, as has been mentioned, reached Teheran about the middle of March. They found there Sir John Campbell as Envoy, and Mr. (afterwards Sir John) McNeill as Secretary of Legation. Preparations were at once made for the reception of the officers of the detachment by the monarch, his Majesty Futteh Ali Shah, the reigning king of Persia. Such, however, were the requirements of Oriental etiquette, that it was not until the 12th of April that the interview actually took place, and the band of British officers, accompanied by the members of the diplomatic corps and some Persian officials, was conducted to the palace, and ushered into the presence of the Great King. I find among my brother's papers the subjoined description of the occasion :—

All arrangements having been duly settled, and the star of our fortune, as the Persians say, having reached the zenith of exaltation, the cavalcade, glittering in all its gaudiest trappings, set out from the palace of the Envoy to become 'white-faced' by an introduction to the 'Centre of the Universe.' A party of two-and-twenty Europeans thus brilliantly attired is a spectacle to which the eyes of the Teheranees are but little accustomed; and had we not therefore attracted a considerable share of public observation, as we wound through the narrow streets and bazaars leading to the citadel, we should have given the citizens little credit for curiosity. The large party of royal Gholams and Furrashes, however, who accompanied the procession contrived to keep us personally unmolested, and in process of time, therefore, after crossing the narrow bridge which leads into the citadel, and passing thence through a small bazaar into the large square fronting the royal residence, we alighted at the entrance of the Dewan Khana, and proceeded on foot into the interior of the palace. The square, always a striking object from the number of guns and mortars ranged in various parts of it, presented upon this occasion an unusually lively and picturesque appearance. The whole of the Shah's artillerymen, amounting to some hundreds, were under arms at their respective stations; detached groups of horsemen in their gayest attire dashed about the Meidan, and the crowds of gholams called out to do proper honour to the ceremony rendered it most difficult to attain the entrance. Here, however, we at length arrived, and dismounting were conducted through a narrow passage lined with gholams to the apartments of the Master of the Ceremonies, where kaliuns and tea refreshed us for a few minutes while intelligence of our arrival was despatched to his Majesty, and the etiquette to be observed at the introduction was communicated to us by the Court official. Soon a message was sent down summoning us to the royal presence, and we found ourselves again on foot following our stately guide through the various courts and passages which led to the 'Garden of the Gulistan,' where his Majesty had been graciously pleased to appoint our reception. The garden thus named is a large square enclosure of about a hundred yards extent, adorned, as usual, with avenues of chenar trees and a basin of water in the centre, and presenting to the eye at its upper end the *Dewan Khana*, a large public room where his Majesty holds his Court on the festival of the Noarof, and which is the only place in the palace adapted to the accommodation of the crowds who on that occasion throng with their offerings to the throne. From the large court a door upon the right conducts through a series of narrow, dark, and intricate passages, which would disgrace the offices of any respectable British residence, into a small enclosure filled with the guards and servants of the royal household, on leaving which, and threading a few more of these narrow gloomy lanes, our party suddenly emerged upon the splendid and delightful 'Garden of the Gulistan.' Beyond this entrance none but the Master of the Ceremonies, his deputy, and our party were permitted to proceed, for we were now on 'holy ground,' and within the range of the royal eye. The room in which his Majesty was seated could scarcely have been fifty yards distant from this corner door, a wall and pathway connecting them; but, it being utterly inconsistent with etiquette that we should proceed thither by the direct route, we were paraded half round the enclosure before being permitted to approach the throne. Walking slowly, therefore, along the wall to our left, and stopping to salute, as soon as we were irradiated with the light of the Imperial presence, we passed an octagonal summer-house, called the Kostuh Frangee (?), and reaching a corner door which leads to the hareem, and is guarded by a body of eunuchs, we then turned off at a right angle, and were soon exactly opposite the apartment occupied by the King. There is a fine room at this spot, called the Umanit Ulmas, or 'Diamond Palace,' which is, however, but little used, and from here, after making another salute, we walked straight up to the Gulistan. Not an individual, except the eunuchs at the hareem door, was to be seen in the whole extent of this vast enclosure, and not a sound was to be heard throughout it but our measured steps upon the clean paved walk, till, arriving within about twenty paces of the room, our slippers were laid aside, and, the last salute having been performed, our conductor in a loud clear voice announced the arrival of Colonel Pasmore and party for the purpose of being introduced to the 'Centre of the Universe.' 'Khoosh amdeed,'[1] answered his Majesty from the elevated position where he sat enthroned; and, ranging the sergeants along the edge of a small tank at about ten paces' distance from the King, we then ascended a steep narrow winding staircase to the doorway of the Chamber of Audience. Having entered, and taken our positions inside the room, we again saluted, and the King at once commenced the usual complimentary inquiries. The room is of an oblong shape, about forty feet by thirty, and is elevated, perhaps, ten feet above the platform of the court; it is very lofty, and being entirely open on its two sides, and supported by four light graceful pillars, has a peculiarly airy and elegant appearance. At the top is a small arched alcove, and at the bottom the door of entrance. These two ends, together with the ceiling, are composed entirely of mirrors; and, though by no means comparable to the glass of the new palace at Ispahan, they add much to the brilliancy and splendour of the apartment. Of bijouterie, which usually crowds the palaces of Persian princes, I could not here discern a trace; with the exception, indeed, of the carpets, a pair of magnificent lustres, and his Majesty's throne and *Kalium*, there was not a decoration in the place. The throne on which his Majesty was seated was placed in the right hand corner at the upper end of the room, so as to overlook the garden, and thus command a view of all who might approach. It was shaped much like a large high-backed old-fashioned easy chair, and, though made of gold, and studded throughout with emeralds and rubies, appeared a most strange ungainly piece of furniture. On the left of the throne, in the alcove which I have already mentioned, were the shield and sword bearers of the King, the former of whom is an officer of high rank, and has very extensive districts under his control. He bore upon his left arm a small round shield, apparently of the greatest value, and was himself attired in the most costly robes. The sword-bearer was a young prince, named Jehungeer Mirza, and carried suspended from his neck by a small band the magnificent weapon entrusted to his charge. Not only the hilt of this weapon, but the sheath also, and the sling, were a blaze of diamonds; and it is considered, I understand, one of the most valuable of the Crown treasures of Persia. Ranged upon either side of the room were six princes of the blood, all standing and preserving the deepest silence throughout the ceremony. They were all of them habited most richly—robes of the most exquisite cashmire flowing loosely down displayed their jewel-hilted daggers and other costly ornaments. The Order of the Lion and the Sun was borne by several, and Ali Shah, Governor of the town of Teheran, wore in token of his authority a train little inferior to that of his father. At the end of the room, and thus facing his Majesty, were our party, headed by our old friend, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Ussuf ool Dowleh, an uncle of Mohammed Mirza's, and perhaps the most influential functionary at Court. The old King wore no sign of royalty, but his tiara—this, which was a high black velvet cap, decorated with sprays of immense diamonds, both in front and at the sides, was truly regal; but, a yellow silk cloak enveloping his form from head to foot, he presented otherwise a plain and almost mean appearance. The old man's beard is still of prodigious length, but its claim to supremacy in this respect may, I think, be fairly questioned. His face is dark and wrinkled; his teeth have all fallen out from age; and he retains not a trace of that manly beauty which is said to have distinguished him in former days, and which characterises even now the pictures which are daily taken of him. He was most gracious, however, in his inquiries, talked much of the value which he placed on the services of the detachment, entered into a long discussion with Dr. McNeil on the subject of his health, received Abul Hussein Khan's compliments with infinite condescension, and finally, after about a quarter of an hour's interview, dismissed us with the greatest honour, to return 'white-faced and head-exalted' to our homes.

---

[1] 'You are welcome.'

During the three months of April, May, and June the detachment remained at Teheran, and their officers necessarily remained with them. It was a critical time in Persia. Futteh Ali Shah, the monarch described above, was showing signs of age and decay, and becoming conscious that his end was approaching.[1] There is no clear law of succession to the Crown in Persia, and the decease of a Sovereign is too often the signal for the commencement of a civil war. Futteh Ali was naturally anxious to avert this danger. He had a multitude of sons and grandsons,[2] most of them, if not all of them, desirous to succeed him; but as yet the succession had been promised to none of them. After much consideration and consultation with many advisers, the aged monarch made up his mind to appoint a successor. Passing over all his surviving sons, he fixed his choice on a grandson, Prince Mohammed Mirza, then serving against the Turkomans in Khorassan, and summoned him to the capital for nomination to the position of Crown Prince and for investiture with the dignity. The Prince entered Teheran in a grand procession on June 14, 1834, and was proclaimed *Naib-i-Sultanut* (heir to the Crown) on the same day. On the next but one (June 16) the British detachment was made over to him as his special body-guard. On June 20, after a visit from his grandfather, his investiture took place. Lieutenant Rawlinson, who was present, thus describes it :—

> The Prince, attired in the *khelaat* (or 'dress of honour') with which his father had that morning presented him, was seated on an old bedstead in the vaulted chamber, on the brink of a marble basin filled with the clearest water, and both in appearance and

---

[1] Futteh Ali is said to have been forty years of age at his accession in 1798 (Fraser: *History of Persia*, p. 313). He would, therefore, have been seventy-six in 1834.

[2] See the author's *History of Herodotus*, p. 262, note 1 (third edition), where it is noted by his brother that 'at the time of Futteh Ali Shah's death his direct descendants amounted to nearly three thousand.'

manner was most animated. The dress of honour consisted of a red velvet robe, laced and edged with deep borders of magnificent jewels, a shawl supporting a most splendid dagger, diamond armlets, and a sword blazing with gems. Popular rumour assigned to the *khelaat*, with its accompaniments, a value of 100,000 tomauns, or about 50,000*l.*; and I cannot think the estimate much exaggerated. The Prince begged us (*i.e.* the officers of the detachment) to be seated in his presence—a mark of distinction granted to few—and inquired particularly the name, rank, and duties of every individual of the party. He expressed his desire also to avail himself of the assistance of England, insinuating at the same time his disinclination to accept of other offers. The Russian aide-de-camp with his interpreter being, however, present, the conversation was not prosecuted further.

Still, the situation continued critical. The Shah's sons were not without hope of changing their father's mind, and exerted themselves to the utmost to subvert the proposed succession. They professed themselves in fear of their lives when they were brought in contact with the selected prince, and at his inauguration festival went so far as to refuse to taste any of the refreshments handed to them, assuring their father that they had good reason to believe them poisoned. The Shah, however, was firm, and rejected their insinuations; but, in order to ease the strained relations which had set in between those nearest and dearest to him, he gave orders that the Prince Mohammed Mirza, with the troops which he had brought from Khorassan and the British detachment, should proceed at once into Azerbijan and assume the administration of affairs in that important province, while the jealous uncles remained with himself at Teheran. There was great difficulty in procuring sufficient transport for the troops; but, after much wearisome delay, the march began on July 4. Casvin was reached on the 9th; Sultaniyeh on the 14th; and Tabriz on the 26th of the month. The country through which the march lay, though for the most part fertile and picturesque, proved very unhealthy to Europeans, and most of the officers of the detachment suffered severely, Lieutenant Rawlinson among the number. Prostrated by fever and ague, he had to be carried during the last two or three stages of the journey in a sort of palanquin, and was confined to his bedroom for several days afterwards.

At Tabriz the drilling and instruction of the native Persian troops—the main object of the expedition—began, and was carried on for two months almost incessantly. Bayazid was visited during the autumn of the year; and Lieutenant Rawlinson, with his usual spirit of enterprise, attempted the ascent of Mount Ararat, but found it impracticable at that time of year on account of the great depth of the snow. Otherwise the autumn passed with little of incident or excitement, Lieutenant Rawlinson continuing his Persian studies, and further occupying himself with researches into the comparative geography of Azerbijan.

November 10 had been reached, and winter was just about setting in, when news arrived at the camp of the detachment, of a stirring and quite unexpected character. Futteh Ali, the Shah of Persia, though an old man, being in his seventy-seventh year, had been left at Teheran in fairly good health, and was thought to have many more years of life before him. He had removed, as he commonly did in the summer time, from Teheran to Ispahan, and was enjoying his *villeggiatura* in that 'earthly paradise,' when a sudden attack carried him off, after a few days' illness, on October 20, 1834. Had common dispatch been used, the intelligence might have reached the force a fortnight earlier, and the troops might by November 10 have been well advanced on their march back to Teheran; but, as it was, the usual Oriental dilatoriness, indecision, and incapacity were displayed, with the result that the throne, and even the life of the new monarch, Mohammed Mirza, were seriously endangered, and that a violent revolution threatened to break out. Disaffection showed itself in many different quarters—the troops themselves, having to complain of long arrears of pay, were anything but enthusiastic—and for a time it was doubtful whether they would consent to accompany the young monarch to his capital, and lend their aid to establish him upon the throne. Unfortunately, he did not possess at this period of his life many personal attractions. 'Mohammed Shah,' says Lieutenant Rawlinson in his journal of this date, 'has little appearance of Eastern sovereignty about him. Instead of a fine, bold, manly bearing, with the gleam of intellect upon his brow, and the deep-set, piercing eye which should mark the individual formed to crush rebellious princes and win his way to a crown worn by a Nadir, a Kurrem Khan, and the Kujur Eunuch, he possesses a gross, unwieldy person, a thick, rapid, unimpressive utterance, an unmeaning countenance, and a general bearing more clownish and commonplace than is often met with even in the middle ranks of Persian society. There is in his appearance no spark of grace, dignity, or intelligence; and though no opportunities have yet occurred for the development of his real character, the traits which have been remarked augur most unfavourably of a glorious career for the new monarch.' Still, the difficulties of the crisis, great as they were, were by some means or other overcome—British gold was forthcoming to meet the demands of the troops, the Prince was persuaded to assume a gracious and popular demeanour, and within a few weeks was established peaceably in his capital and accepted as the legitimate successor of his grandfather upon the Persian throne.

CHAPTER V

RESIDENCE IN PERSIA FROM 1835 TO 1839—FIRST ATTRACTION TO CUNEIFORM STUDIES—TRAVELS—RETURN TO INDIA FROM PERSIA.

Lieutenant Rawlinson remained at Teheran with the British detachment under the command of Colonel Pasmore from January 4, 1835, to April 10. He was partly employed in drilling the Persian troops and keeping the Persian officials in good humour, partly in correspondence with the other British employés scattered up and down the country. A better Persian scholar than almost any of the other officers, he was soon on familiar terms with the principal Persian grandees, and even with his Iranic Majesty himself. The situation being one of very considerable difficulty, and the relations between the British Envoy and the Persian Court being from time to time greatly strained, and appearing to threaten a rupture, an unusual responsibility devolved on the accomplished linguist, whose communications were sure never to be misunderstood, and who never failed to understand the exact bearing and intention of the communications, whether official or semi-official, which reached the British Residence from the Court. Lieutenant Rawlinson was from the first a *persona grata* to the newly enthroned Shah, and was admitted to the royal presence without difficulty. On January 12, within ten days of the Shah's own reception into his capital, he was received, together with Colonel Pasmore and some other British officers, into the Imaret-i-Bulaon, the chief reception-room of the royal palace at Teheran, and 'probably the most splendid apartment in Persia,' and granted a long audience by his Majesty. He thus describes the occasion :—

The huge pier glasses, with which the apartment is lined throughout, are all of European manufacture, and the rich gilding and enamelling which decorate their frames add much to the finish of the chamber. A crystal bath, presented by the Russian Emperor to Futteh Ali Shah, occupies the centre of the apartment; magnificent chandeliers depend from the ceiling; Cashmere shawls, richly hued, carpet the floor; each recess around the walls holds the most splendid specimens of bijouterie in alabaster, ormolu, and bronze, of which the elephant clock—a gift of Alexander—is not the least remarkable; and ceiling, pillars, and walls are inlaid throughout with a dazzling continuity of mirrored compartments in arabesque, which, while they multiply to an infinite extent every decoration, bewilder and almost fatigue the eye with their glittering and fantastic forms. The celebrated 'Peacock Throne' was placed at the head of the apartment; but Mohammed Shah had resigned its occupation when we entered for a more luxurious position in a corner immediately above a limpid and bubbling fountain, basking in the sunshine, and supported by rich cushions of velvet. Public affairs were little touched upon during the interview. The Shah expressed, indeed, in his quick, lively, animated manner, his resolve to have an army of 100,000 disciplined troops, and—Inshallah—to revive the days of Nadir in Iran. Otherwise the conversation related chiefly to the wonders of European science—balloons, steam guns, Herschel's telescope, and the subject of aerolites were successively touched upon; and I wound up the catalogue of marvels with a description of the recent French invention of the 'Pacificator.'

About three weeks later, on the last day of January 1835, Lieutenant Rawlinson was present at the coronation of the youthful monarch. He had gone with the other officers of the detachment to make a call of ceremony upon the Shah on the feast of the Ued-i-Ramzan, and found the Court in an unusual state of bustle and excitement. The determination had suddenly been reached that, to save expense, the day of the feast should be further utilised for the coronation of the Prince, which anyhow must have taken place shortly. A double distribution of presents was thus avoided, and other minor economies secured. But the immediate result was scarcely convenient. At the moment when the British officers entered the Dewan, they found it a scene of strange hurry and confusion. Princes, Mirzahs, Khans, and Moollahs were bustling about in all directions, and the Master of the Ceremonies, whose duty it was to marshal the crowd in due order according to the respective ranks of the individuals composing it, was evidently bewildered, and well nigh at his wit's end. Order, however, was in course of time educed out of chaos; and when, at about one o'clock, intelligence arrived of the approach of the young Shah, the scene became very interesting and impressive:—

> The curtain which usually hides the *Dewan Khana* from public view had been raised, and I beheld for the first time the rich decorations of the apartment. A throne of pure white polished marble, supported on the shoulders of figures of which the sculpture is respectable enough for Persia, occupies the centre of the chamber; it may be raised about four feet from the ground, is ascended by marble steps, and is, I should judge, about eight feet long by five wide. The mirrors and gilding in the apartment are on a grander scale than in any of the other palaces, and harmonise well

with its vast and lofty proportions. Outside the *Dewan Khana*, on either edge of the large reservoir which, as usual, occupies the central space, were arranged Princes of the Blood—on the right hand, facing the throne, those in favour, and on the left *the faction*. Upon this raised terrace, about fourteen feet from the *Dewan Khana*, no one else was permitted to stand. Below, lining the central avenue and crossing so as to form a base about twenty yards down, stood all the ministers and officers of the household. The base was occupied entirely by the chief executioner and his establishment, who, with their red robes and turbans and axes of office, presented a very imposing appearance. At the two upper angles were stationed the Qaim Mugham and his son; and in the space intervening between these corners and the raised terrace to the right and left places were assigned respectively for the Russian and English suites. Falling back at right angles from the Qaim Mugham and his son, along the railings at either side of the quadrangle, were ranged Mirzas, Heads of Tribes, Hakims, Beglerbegs, and, in fact, all the official people at present in the capital. All were arrayed in the *khelaats* of *kimaub* and gold and flowered brocade which had been presented to them in the morning, and those who had been appointed to any service or situation wore their *firmans* proudly perched at the top of their black caps. A strong guard of the Russian regiment was stationed lower down in the avenue, and the whole of the other troops were drawn up in the rear of the palace. The Shah at length made his appearance, waddled in his usual undignified manner across the chamber to the foot of the throne, clambered up the steps, and sat himself down at the further end, leaning against the richly carved marble back. His appearance was rendered more ludicrous on this occasion than I ever previously beheld it, by his being obliged to keep one hand up at his head in order to preserve the ponderous top-heavy crown, which he wore, in its place. This emblem of royalty was shaped exactly like the high shawl-twisted Court turbans which the other officers wear—much resembling a Bishop's mitre without the central division—but was covered with diamonds. It appeared to be made of white cloth, and owed its weight, of course, to the vast quantity of jewels with which it was adorned. The King was dressed otherwise very plainly. A tight purple *kubba* reached to his feet; and bazoobands (?), with the cross strings of pearls, over his breast were the only ornaments I saw. The Zumboorooks fired three volleys when he took his place, and the artillery gave a royal salute. One of the attendants commenced the reading of the *Khootba*, and a *kaliun* was brought in for his Majesty, which was one of the most gorgeous articles I ever beheld—stand, kaliun, snake, and mouthpiece being all so encrusted with gems that it was barely possible to see the gold which formed their main material. The kaliun-bearer, on retiring with this, walked backward off the throne at the imminent peril (as it appeared to me) of his neck. Shortly after coffee was brought in with an equally magnificent apparatus. In the meantime the *Khootba* being finished, which was a bare enumeration of Arabic titles, and the same which I had already heard recited at the Niyarestan, two Mirzas successively advanced, and recited coronation anthems in congratulation of his Majesty on his accession, and in anticipation of the glories of his reign. The principal theme of both these odes was the conquest of Herat, or Bokhara, or Khiva, or Urgung, a pretty certain indication of the bent of popular feeling, and of the general belief as to the subjects which are at the present time most pleasing to the Royal ear. As soon as the echoes of the thunder-breathing stanzas had died away in the far-off courts of the palace, a sharp shrill voice was heard again to break the silence, and it was perceived that the Shah himself had opened a conversation with the *Assif-ul-Doolah*. This was conducted in Turkish, and related to the auspicious train of events which had led to a bloodless succession and promised a speedy settlement of the empire. The *Assif*, whilst engaged in this colloquy, stood by himself apart from all the other nobles, leaning with both his arms on a long staff which he held in front of him. His figure is noble and dignified, and his voice sonorous; but the attitude, though perfectly consistent with Persian etiquette, appeared to me far from respectful. There may have been five hundred officers present; but such is the nicety and exactness of the Persian rules of precedence, that every individual knew his place in the general convocation of the Court as well as in his own family. There were several princes in the crowd, and all the officers connected immediately with the Imperial person inside the *Dewan Khana*, amongst whom the ex-King, Ali Shah, was granted the highest and most favoured place. His appearance was stately and dignified, as usual, but there was a deep gloom upon his countenance; and when it is considered that a few weeks ago he himself occupied the very throne before which he was now compelled to offer homage, it cannot be supposed that his feelings were of a very pleasurable nature. It is a rare occurrence, however, in the annals of Persia for a prince who has himself held the reins of empire thus to assist at the coronation of his successor unfettered and unmutilated. The Shah rose from the throne after sitting in state for about a quarter of an hour, crept down the steps backwards with one hand still at his head to prevent the crown from falling off, and waddled across the room, apparently most glad to make his escape from what had been to him a painful and trying solemnity. Shortly after his departure we were summoned to a private audience.

The months of February and March 1835 were passed by Lieutenant Rawlinson at Teheran in the ordinary routine of his duties with the British detachment, which were not particularly interesting; and it was with a thrill of satisfaction that he found himself, about the middle of February, nominated by the Shah to proceed into Kurdistan, and act as a sort of military adviser and assistant to the Governor of that province, who was the Shah's own brother, and resided at Kirmanshah, in the Kurdish mountains, between Behistun and Harun-abad. His journey to this place, which Persian procrastination prevented him from commencing before the 10th of April, took him past the ancient city of Hamadan, once Agbatana or Ecbatana; and here he was able for the first time to make a leisurely examination of cuneiform inscriptions, and was induced to copy them, and ponder over them, and endeavour to penetrate their meaning. The inscriptions in question were those at the foot of Mount Elwand, which have been copied by so many travellers, and which were published almost simultaneously in the year 1836 by M. Burnouf at Paris[1] and Professor Lassen at Bonn.[2] They had already been partially deciphered by those eminent scholars; but the results of their labours were wholly unknown to the young Englishman, who commenced his own study of the Elwand inscriptions without any acquaintance with any similar previous researches.

On his arrival at Kirmanshah, in April 1835, Lieutenant Rawlinson was very favourably received by the Governor, Bahram Mirza, the Shah's brother, and after a short interval was placed practically in command of the whole body of troops stationed in the province. A general superintendence was given him over all military matters, such as arms, accoutrements, stores, drill, enrolling of troops, and the like; it was arranged that he should take his orders from no one but the Prince himself, and that the Persian soldiers of all ranks should receive their orders from him. All was fairly satisfactory, except matters of finance. The Kirmanshah treasury was well nigh empty, and there seemed to be no means of replenishing it. Still, Lieutenant Rawlinson succeeded, by dint of great personal exertion, in raising three regiments from the Kurdish tribes of the neighbourhood, and in disciplining them. His rules of conduct at this time, as formulated by himself in one of his diaries, were the following:—'Create business for yourself. Lose no opportunity of making yourself useful, whatever may be the affair which may happen to present the chance. Grasp at everything, and never yield an inch. Above all, never stand upon trifles. Be careful of outward observances. Maintain a good establishment; keep good horses and showy ones; dress well; have good and handsome arms; in your conversation and intercourse with the natives, be sure to observe the customary etiquette.' By pursuing this line of action he succeeded in making himself generally acceptable to all classes, while he acquired an influence over all those with whom he came into contact very remarkable in a youth of five-and-twenty.

---

[1] See his *Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions cunéiformes trouvées près d'Hamadan.* Paris, 1836.

[2] *Die Altpersisch. Inschriften von Persepolis, &c.* Bonn, 1836.

At the same time he was feeling his way towards that path in life and that position which he already intuitively felt to be the most attractive to him, and the most in harmony with the bent of his nature and his talents. At Kirmanshah he was in the heart of a region richer in antiquarian treasures than almost any other in Persia. In the immediate vicinity is the interesting site known as Takht-i-Bostan, which contains the most important remains of the Sassanian or Neo-Persian kingdom, while the Hamadan inscriptions are not far off; and, above all, there stands on the direct route to Hamadan, and at the distance of less than twenty miles from Kirmanshah, the remarkable rock of Behistun—in itself a grand natural object, and, in the providence of God, the great means by which the ancient Persian, Assyrian, and Babylonian languages have been recovered, and a chapter of the world's history, that had been almost wholly lost, once more made known to mankind. Lieutenant Rawlinson had not been a month at Kirmanshah before these antiquities began to exert their attraction upon him. His attention was drawn, first of all, to the magnificent sculptures at Takht-i-Bostan, which he carefully examined and described; but ere long the great mass of inscriptions on the rock of Behistun awoke a still keener interest, and the time which he could spare from his public duties was chiefly occupied, during the years 1835–37, in transcribing with the utmost care so much of the Great Inscription as he found at that time, with the appliances which he possessed, to be accessible, and in continuous endeavours to penetrate the mystery in which the whole subject of cuneiform decipherment was then wrapped, and to arrive at the phonological value, and thence at the true meaning, of the Inscriptions. The work was carried on under literary difficulties, of which a full account will be given in a later chapter. It was also carried on under a certain amount of physical difficulty. The rock was bare, slippery, in places almost precipitous, and it needed a keen eye, a steady head, and a sure foot, to ascend and descend it, as Lieutenant Rawlinson did, three or four times a day for many days together, 'without the aid of rope or ladder—without any assistance, in fact, whatever.'[1] In later days, when completing his transcript of the whole body of inscriptions upon the rock, the investigator did not disdain the use of artificial appliances; but his earlier researches during the years 1835–37 were made at some risk to life or limb—happily, however, he was a good cragsman.

---

[1] MS. Notebook of Sir H. Rawlinson's in the possession of the author.

Routine duties detained the young subaltern at Kirmanshah and its immediate neighbourhood from the latter part of April till nearly the middle of August, when, by order of the Prince, he quitted the provincial court, and proceeded westward into one of the wildest districts of Kurdistan—the country about the upper streams of the Kerkhah River, where he was to assist the Governor, Suleiman Khan, in mustering and drilling the Guran Kurds, one of the rudest and most unruly of those unruly mountain tribes. In this district he continued till nearly the end of September, when he was summoned back to Kirmanshah by the Prince, to hold a conference with a messenger whom he (the Prince) was about to send to the Court of his brother. No sooner was his absence known than the Kurdish recruits mutinied, murdered Suleiman Khan, the Governor, and moved off towards the frontier, intending to cross into Turkish territory, where they would be safe. Bahram Mirza, recognising the critical condition of affairs, at once gave orders that Lieutenant Rawlinson should return, and, if possible, quell the disturbance before it proceeded to greater lengths. This he succeeded in doing. Leaving Kirmanshah on October 6, he rode back to the scene of the outbreak, obtained possession of Suleiman Khan's son (Mohammed Wali Khan), proclaimed him Governor in his father's place, rallied to his standard the less disaffected of the troops, and then, hurrying to the frontier, persuaded such of the mutineers as had not crossed it to return, renew their oaths of allegiance to the Shah, and accept Mohammed Wali Khan as their legitimately appointed ruler. The outbreak was thus put down in the space of a few days, and peace was fully restored; but the excitement, and the exertions which he had been forced to make, had overtasked the young subaltern's strength, and his health suddenly gave way. A severe attack of fever prostrated him on a sick-bed for eight or ten days, and he had at last to be carried on a species of litter back to Kirmanshah, where he continued an invalid for nearly a month. Finally, as he found himself growing worse instead of better, he thought it best to obtain sick leave, and to remove from Kirmanshah to Baghdad, where he could be nursed in a European's house, and have the advice and care of a European doctor, Dr. Ross.

Lieutenant Rawlinson remained nearly a month at Baghdad, reaching the city on November 29, and quitting it on December 27. He rapidly recovered his health and spirits under Dr. Ross's fostering care, and was able to utilise his position by commencing the study of Arabic, the language most commonly spoken in the city of the Caliphs. He was also privileged to make the acquaintance of Colonel Taylor, the Resident at the time, a good antiquarian, and an excellent Arabic scholar, whom he afterwards succeeded (1843) in the residential post.

Leaving Baghdad on December 27, Lieutenant Rawlinson proceeded by way of Shahrabad, Kizil Robát, Khanikin, and Kasr-i-Shirin, to Zohab, in the Kirmanshah province, where he rejoined the Prince, Mohammed Wali Khan, whom he had established as Governor of the Zohab district after the murder of his father, Suleiman Khan. He reached Zohab on January 7, 1836, and continued there till February 12, when, by orders from the Kirmanshah Governor, Bahram Mirza, he started for the south and conducted the Guranee regiment, which he had raised in the preceding year, from Zohab to Khuzistan, by the route which he has himself described with full detail in the 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society' for 1839. The object of the expedition, in which Bahram Mirza himself took part, was the chastisement of a rebel chieftain in the Bakhtiyareh mountains; but this wily personage, with more discretion than valour, when he learnt the strength of the expedition that was approaching his stronghold, sent an embassy to treat for peace, and practically made submission. The troops had therefore only to return to Kirmanshah; and little would have been achieved by the expedition, had not Lieutenant Rawlinson taken the opportunity of retiring by a different route from that followed in the advance, and one that had never previously been trodden by a European, through the mountains of Luristan. By this means he was enabled to communicate to the Royal Geographical Society a paper—the one above-mentioned—in which there was so much novelty that he received on account of it the Gold Medal of the Society in the year 1840. Lieutenant Rawlinson was also able to visit, on his passage through Khuzistan, the important sites of Dizful, Susa, and Shuster, and to make observations which proved to be of great service to him when he directed his attention to the comparative geography of this portion of Western Asia.

A letter which I received from my brother while he was engaged in this expedition will show at once the difficulties under which he was labouring during the greater part of it, and the indomitable spirit with which he met them, and in the main triumphed over them.

Shuster, March 21, 1836.

My dear George,—Illness and the difficulty of communication with Europe have occasioned my long silence—reasons which (however you may regret the occurrence of the former) will nevertheless be more acceptable to you than the usual plea of laziness, which would seem to betoken a want of interest and affection. I am now indeed only able to write in the intervals between my attacks of fever; and the means by which I propose to transmit my letter to you are accidental, circuitous, and far from certain. From Shuster my letter is to be conveyed to Bussorah [by courier], from thence to Baghdad by another courier, then to Constantinople, and then put in the Vienna post-bag, so that, if the document reaches you safe and sound after all this chopping and changing, you must consider that Mercury has an especial favour for you. And now, first, anent my health, I have been ailing, as I wrote to Georgiana,[1] ever since last autumn; but my malady is only a teasing ague, and unless it clings to me as pertinaciously as the Old Man [of the Sea] did to Sinbad, it can scarcely do me any serious harm. The attacks, moreover, are approximating nearer and nearer, as they recur, to the character of angels' visits, 'few and far between' (or, as it should be, according to Hazlitt's criticism, 'short and far between'); and I am in hopes therefore of getting rid of the enemy without the necessity of a sick certificate, as I formerly proposed. Next year, however, when my ten years expire, I shall certainly come home on furlough, unless in the interim some kind angel slips me into a caldron, like Medea's, and wipes off the corrosion of nine glowing summers. So look out for a nice cheap lodging at Oxford, where (and at Cambridge) I think I shall pass most of my three years for the sake of consulting the classical and Oriental works which are there alone procurable, and a reference to which is absolutely necessary before I can prepare for publication my papers on the comparative geography of the countries which I am now visiting.

---

[1] His second surviving sister, afterwards Mrs. Heath.

I wish in the meantime, however, that you would look into Theophanes (pp. 257–273) and let me know what he says about Salban, Tarentum, the territory of the Huns, and indeed all the particulars of that expedition of Heraclius in which he took the city of Salban. The subject is particularly interesting to me, as I have been visiting the exact countries which I believe to have formed the line of march of the Emperor. I passed a couple of days lately amid the ruins of Susa, and I think I have unravelled the mystery of the two rivers, Eulæus and Choaspes, which both flow beneath the *arx Susorum.* I visited at this spot the pretended tomb of the Prophet Daniel; but the famous black stone, with the bilingual inscription, cuneiform and hieroglyphic, which formerly existed here, and by means of which I trusted to verify or disprove the attempts which have been made by St. Martin and others to decipher the arrow-headed character, no longer remains. It was blown to shivers a short time ago by a fanatical Arab in hopes of discovering a treasure; and thus perished all the fond hopes that archæologists have built upon this precious relic. Who is your Arabic professor at Oxford? And is he, like Lee at Cambridge, interested in Oriental literature and antiquities? If so, I should like much to enter into correspondence with him.

I have marched to this place (Shuster) in command of a force of three thousand men, intending to attack and plunder the country of a rebellious mountain chief; but now that we are near his fort he shows the white feather, and wants to come to terms, so that I fear that our campaign, after all, will be nothing more than a Major Sturgeon warfare of 'marching and countermarching from Acton to Ealing and from Ealing to Acton.' But the time passes pleasantly enough, except, by the by, when the ague comes on. I am in a country abounding both with game and antiquities, so that, with my gun in hand, I perambulate the vicinity of Shuster, and fill at the same time my bag with partridges and my pocket-book with memoranda. The only evil is the difficulty of communicating with any other civilised place from this said province of Khuzistan ; it is nine months since I heard from England, and three since I heard from either Teheran or Baghdad, so that I am completely isolated and utterly ignorant of what is going on in any of the other regions of the globe. News from England I am particularly anxious for. . . . India has now ceased to be of any interest to me. I have few correspondents there, and each letter that I receive tells me a fresh tale of the worthlessness of worldly friendships. C——, who was wont to call himself my most particular friend and chum, has never once written to me since he returned to India ; and all my other quondam cronies have equally fallen off. But 'out of sight, out of mind' is an old proverb, and I have no right, therefore, to complain of any particular grievance in my case.

I have no certain intelligence of the books which McNeill has brought out for me, and I cannot therefore specify those that remain unprocured. I will write to you again immediately that I hear from Teheran. My letter to Maria,[1] which I send by the same messenger that conveys your epistle to Bussorah, gives all the other news of my deeds past, present, and in prospect. With best love to my father, mother, &c., and with these three injunctions to yourself—write often, write fully, and write unreservedly—I am your very affectionate brother,

H. C. R.

After passing some months at Kirmanshah in attendance upon the Prince, Bahram Mirza, Lieutenant Rawlinson received orders to take the Guran regiment, which he had raised and disciplined, and conduct it across almost the entire width of Persia, from Kirmanshah to the Turkoman frontier, whither the Shah was marching with the professed object of chastising the wild tribes of Usbegs and others, always engaged in raiding the north-eastern provinces of the kingdom. The real aim of the expedition was beyond a doubt the subjugation of Herat, on which Persia always looks with a covetous eye, and which was openly attacked a year or two later; but this aim was masked, and the British detachment, now under the command of Sir Henry Bethune, accompanied the Shah's army. Lieutenant Rawlinson joined the force at Demavend, and went with it to the neighbourhood of Asterabad, when cholera broke out among the troops, and, the expedition being broken up, the British detachment retired to Teheran. Ordered to rejoin his former chief, Lieutenant Rawlinson proceeded to Ispahan, whence, after a short stay, he accompanied the Prince to the seat of his government, Kirmanshah, where he passed the winter.

---

[1] His eldest surviving sister, married to Brooke Smith, Esq., of Redland, near Bristol (died 1897).

It was now, in the winter of 1836–7, that he set himself resolutely to the task of copying accurately as much as was accessible to him of the Great Behistun Inscription of Darius Hystaspis, which has stood to cuneiform discovery very much in the same relation that the Rosetta Stone has occupied with respect to hieroglyphical decipherment. He succeeded in obtaining a nearly exact transcript of the entire first column of the Persian text, together with the opening paragraph of the second, ten paragraphs of the third column, and four of the detached inscriptions.[1] He had already begun the labours which issued ultimately in absolute decipherment, and was bent on acquiring complete possession of the rich mine of material which the 'Great Inscription' offered, and in which he saw a virgin field untouched by any other explorer. At the cost of much personal exertion and of some personal danger, though greatly pressed for time, he succeeded in completing the transcripts above mentioned, and in thus acquiring a material on which he could confidently set to work, secure, at any rate, against being baffled in his researches by the want of sufficient data for forming conclusions.

---

[1] See his 'Memoir' in the tenth volume of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Preliminary Remarks, p. 7, note.

Meanwhile, his relations with the Persian Government became strained, and it became necessary for him to leave Kirmanshah, and have an explanation with the Central Authority. Bahram Mirza, the Governor of Kirmanshah, under whom he had been serving for the last two years, fell into disgrace with the Court early in the year 1837, and was recalled to the capital. He was replaced by a Georgian eunuch named Manucheher Khan, between whom and the young British Resident there shortly arose differences. The details are not worth particularising. Suffice it to say that each party considered he had grounds of complaint against the other, and that the complaints of the Governor being regarded as serious at Teheran, in September Lieutenant Rawlinson was recalled to the capital to furnish explanations. On his arrival, however, he found that the Shah had left the city at the head of his army, and was in full march upon Herat, which he had decided to invest, and, if possible, capture.

Instructed by Sir John McNeill, the British Envoy, Lieutenant Rawlinson lost no time in following on the Shah's footsteps, and after a ride[1] of nearly 800 miles, which he accomplished in a week, came up with him at Nishapur, in Khorassan, about 250 miles from the threatened town. He made his explanations, which were graciously received by the monarch, who marked his continuance in the royal favour by conferring on him the post of Custodian of the Arsenal at Teheran.

---

[1] It was on this ride that Lieutenant Rawlinson fell in with the Russian agent, Vickovich (or Wiktewitch), and first obtained positive evidence that Russia was at the bottom of the Herat expedition. In a letter written at Teheran on November 1, 1837, he says: 'I have just returned from a journey of much interest. McNeill had some business in the Persian camp which he thought I might help to arrange, and I was bid accordingly to make my way to the "Royal Stirrup" with all convenient despatch. I was obliged to travel day and night, as the post-horses on the road, owing to the constant passage of couriers, were almost unserviceable, and yet I was only able, after all, to accomplish the distance of something more than 700 miles in a week. The last morning of my ride I had an adventure. Our whole party were pretty well knocked up; and in the dark, between sleeping and waking, we managed to lose the road. As morning dawned we found ourselves wandering about on the broken plain which stretches up from Subzewar to the range containing the turquoise mines, and shortly afterwards we perceived that we were close to another party of horsemen, who were also, apparently, trying to regain the high road. I was not anxious to accost these strangers, but in cantering past them I saw to my astonishment men in Cossack dresses, and one of my attendants recognised among the party a servant of the Russian mission. My curiosity was, of course, excited, and on reaching the stage I told one of my men to watch for the arrival of the travellers, and find out who they were. Shortly afterwards the Russian party rode up, inquired who I was, and finding I was a British officer, declined to enter the khan, but held on their road. In such a state of affairs as preceded the siege of Herat, the mere fact of a Russian gentleman travelling in Khorassan was suspicious. In the present case, however, there was evidently a desire for concealment. Nothing had been heard of this traveller by our Mission at Teheran. I had been told, indeed, absurd stories on the road of a Muscovite prince having been sent from Petersburg to announce that 10,000 Russians would be landed at Asterabad, to co-operate with the Shah in reducing Herat, and this was evidently the man alluded to; but I knew not what to believe, and I thought it my duty, therefore, to try and unravel the mystery. Following the party, I tracked them for some distance along the high road, and then found that they had turned off to a gorge in the hills. There at length I came upon the group seated at breakfast by the side of a clear, sparkling rivulet. The officer, for such he evidently was, was a young man of light make, very fair complexion, with bright eyes and a look of great animation. He rose and bowed to me as I rode up, but said nothing. I addressed him in French—the general language of communication among Europeans in the East—but he shook his head. I then spoke English, and he answered in Russian. When I tried Persian, he seemed not to understand a word; at last he expressed himself

The winter of 1837–8 was passed at Teheran chiefly in routine duties; but the indefatigable student also found time to push his investigations into the cuneiform character and into the ancient Persian language, while he likewise gave considerable attention to the study of comparative geography, and wrote the paper on the march from Zohab to Khuzistan which was published in the 'Journal of the Geographical Society' for 1839, and obtained the Society's gold medal in 1840.[1]

---

hesitatingly in Turcoman or Usbeg Turkish. I knew just sufficient of this language to carry on a simple conversation, but not to be inquisitive. This was evidently what my friend wanted; for when he found that I was not strong enough in Jaghetai to proceed very rapidly, he rattled on with his rough Turkish as glibly as possible. All I could find out was, that he was a *boná fide* Russian officer carrying presents from the Emperor to Mohammed Shah. More he would not admit; so, after smoking another pipe with him, I re-mounted and reached the Royal camp beyond Nishapur before dark. I had an immediate audience of the Shah, and in the course of conversation mentioning to his Majesty my adventure of the morning, he replied: "Bringing presents to me! Why, I have nothing to do with him; he is sent direct from the Emperor to Dost Mohammed of Cabul, and I am merely asked to help him on his journey." This is the first information we have ever had of a direct communication between Petersburg and Cabul, and it may be of great importance. The gentleman made his appearance in camp two days after my arrival, and I was then introduced to him by M. Goulte, as Captain Vitkavitch. He addressed me at once in good French, and in allusion to our former meeting, merely observed with a smile, that "it would not do to be too familiar with strangers in the desert."' Vickovich afterwards proceeded to Cabul, and was received with all honour, but, not having accomplished all that had been expected of him, was disavowed on his return to St. Petersburg, and blew his brains out. (See Kaye's *History of the War in Affghanistan*, vol. i. pp. 193–5, and 209.)

[1] See above, p. 61.

The stay of the British detachment in Persia was now approaching its termination. The relations between the Shah and the Indian Government had for a long time been unsatisfactory, and now they grew daily more strained. The Shah was still bent on annexing Herat to his dominions, and set the remonstrances of the Governor-General at defiance. Early in 1838 he took the field a second time, and proceeded eastward at the head of his army. Sir John McNeill, the British Envoy, accompanied him, but rather to watch his movements than to render him any help. Lieutenant Rawlinson was left at Teheran in *quasi* political charge. Before Herat the British Envoy and the Shah came to an open rupture; and the Envoy returned hurriedly to Teheran, whence he conducted the British detachment to Tabriz, designing to withdraw from the country. Meanwhile, however, a force sent by Lord Auckland from India had arrived in the Persian Gulf and occupied the island of Kharak; and the Shah, in alarm at this demonstration, had hastily broken up the siege of Herat, and re-entered his own dominions. McNeill, uncertain what course his Government would wish him to pursue under these circumstances, changed his plans, and returned from Tabriz towards Teheran, taking up his abode at Resht, upon the Caspian. Here Lieutenant Rawlinson joined him about the middle of November, and negotiations with the Persian Court followed, but no satisfactory arrangement being found to be possible, McNeill finally broke off relations towards the close of the year, himself returned to England by way of Constantinople, and ordered the troops to proceed through Western Kurdistan to Baghdad. Lieutenant Rawlinson accompanied the detachment, and passed the greater portion of the year 1839 in the city of the Caliphs, occupied in learning Arabic, and in writing three important works: (1) 'Notes on a Journey from Tabriz through Persian Kurdistan to the Ruins of Takht-i-Suleïman, and from thence by Zenjan and Tarom to Gilan in October and November 1838'; (2) 'Memoir on the Site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana'; and (3) 'Memoir on the Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun.' The last of these works formed the nucleus of the larger 'Memoir' published in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society' for the years 1846 and 1847, and constituting vols. x. and xi. of that serial. The other two were published in the 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society' for the year 1840, and formed the first part of vol. x. of that publication.

Lieutenant Rawlinson remained at Baghdad until October 1839, when he was recalled to India with the British forces, and proceeded by way of Kharak and Bushire to Bombay, where he landed on December 14 after 'a not unpleasant passage of thirteen days from Kharak.'

CHAPTER VI

LIFE DURING THE GREAT AFFGHAN WAR, 1839–1842

The great Affghan War broke out in 1839. It was not, as is often supposed, a war designed and enterprised for mere self-glorification and self-aggrandisement; it was a war with a purely defensive object, originating in a very legitimate fear of the aggressive designs of a neighbouring power, and regarded by its author as necessary to meet and counteract those designs, which threatened the very existence of the Anglo-Indian Empire. Russia had, beyond a doubt, for a considerable space of time before the war was determined on, been cherishing schemes of extensive Eastern conquest, and, not only so, but taking various active steps for the promotion of those schemes, and for facilitating their ultimate accomplishment. She had laboured with a large amount of success to bring Persia wholly under her influence. She encouraged the Shah in his ambitious projects against his eastern neighbours. She urged on, if she did not prompt, the expedition against Herat; she supplied arms and ammunition to the aggressors; ultimately, in the person of her agent Vickovich, she directed the siege, and nearly effected the capture. It was her intention to use Persia as a cat's-paw; to push her forward upon Affghanistan and the Indus, biding her own time till, at a fitting juncture, she could slip into the place of her subordinate, and confront with her legions the British armies on the Indus or the Sutlej. Lord Auckland, it is not improbable, exaggerated the danger; and it is certain that he made unduly light of the moral objections to the course which he determined on—a course involving an unprovoked war with an absolutely friendly power, the driving into exile of a just and popular monarch, and the imposing upon an unwilling nation of a weak and greatly disliked ruler. However, in the year 1838 he made up his mind, and in 1839 the die was cast. The British troops under Sir John Keane and Sir Willoughby Cotton marched into Affghanistan in the early spring; Candahar, Ghuzni, and Cabul, were occupied after a very slight resistance; and before the end of the first week of August, Dost Mohammed was a fugitive from his capital, and Shah Soojah was installed as Ameer in his room.

In all these proceedings Lieutenant Rawlinson had no part. He was detained at Baghdad during the whole of 'the glorious period of success,' and passed the winter of 1839–40 at Bombay in the discharge of ordinary regimental duties. It was at this time his strong desire to obtain some political appointment in Turkish-Arabia, which should enable him to return to Baghdad or its neighbourhood, and resume his cuneiform investigations. All the interest that he could make with influential persons in the Indian service was exerted during the winter of 1839–40 in this direction; and from time to time he had hopes of succeeding. But these hopes gradually faded away, and he had begun to despair of emerging from the ordinary routine of an Indian officer's life, when, to his intense surprise, he received on January 16 information from the Bombay authorities that Lord Auckland had named him for employment in

Affghanistan,[1] and that he was to proceed forthwith to that country, and place himself at the disposal of Sir William Macnaghten, the Political Agent at Cabul. Preparations for the journey had to be made in extreme haste, but vexatious delays occurred, and it was not till February 13 that a start was effected. Lieutenant (now Brevet-Major) Rawlinson performed the journey in company with Lieutenant (afterwards Major) Lynch, proceeding in a sailing vessel from Bombay to Kurrachi, which he reached on February 28, and thence riding through the Bolan Pass by way of Quetta and Candahar to the Affghan capital, where he arrived towards the end of April, and put himself at the disposal of Sir William. At first it was proposed to despatch him, in company with Arthur Conolly, on a mission to the camp of the Russian General Peroffski, who was on his way to attack the Usbeg city of Khiva on the Oxus; but, when the failure of that expedition became known, it seemed unnecessary to lose the services of two officers by sending them to the distant region of Turkestan, and so, while Conolly was ordered to proceed in the direction first indicated, and passing through Khiva and Kokand to Bokhara, there met his death, 'another field of activity was opened out to Rawlinson in a region less inhospitable and remote.'[2] It happened that, just at this time, Macnaghten was dissatisfied with the British Agent whom he had appointed to take the supervision of affairs at Candahar, a Major Leech, and had gone the length of recalling him, and depriving him of his post. A successor had to be appointed without any delay, for Candahar was the capital of Western Affghanistan, and the second city in the empire. It was also somewhat critically circumstanced. Macnaghten, after carefully weighing the qualifications of the officers whom he had at his disposal, selected Major Rawlinson to fill the vacant post. He was but thirty years of age, but he had, practically, governed the extensive province of Kirmanshah in Persia for the space of nearly three years; he had lived almost entirely among the Persians, and become as familiar with their language and literature as he was with his own, and he had acquired the reputation of being a man of excellent temper, and of great tact and forbearance. The historian of the Great Affghan War, from whom I take this estimate of his character, remarks, in summing up his account of the situation, that Macnaghten 'could not have appointed a better man.'[1]

---

[1] Kaye, in his *History of the War in Affghanistan*, vol. ii. p. 102, note, ascribes his appointment to his having been 'strongly recommended' to Lord Auckland for employment in Affghanistan by Sir John McNeill. This is intrinsically probable, but I do not find it confirmed by my brother's letters or journals.

[2] Kaye, *The War in Affghanistan*, vol. ii. p. 103.

The state of affairs in Western Affghanistan was the following. Shah Soojah, our puppet-king, had been received there with a moderate amount of satisfaction in 1839. The most important tribe, the Dooranis, were rejoiced to be relieved from the tyranny of their Barukzye oppressors, and at first hailed the restoration of a Suddozye monarch with something that might almost be called enthusiasm. But, after a little time, their ardour cooled, and the over-sanguine hopes in which they had indulged were succeeded by the cold chill of disappointment. They had expected to return to the dominant position from which the Barukzyes had deposed them; and the promises of Shah Soojah during his stay in Candahar, though somewhat vague, had lent strength to their hopes; but they found in the course of a few months that they had been living in a fool's paradise, and that the realisation of their ambitious dreams was no more to be looked for under Shah Soojah than under Dost Mohammed. Accordingly, they were ripe for revolt. At the same time, the Ghilzye tribes in the district to the east of Candahar were notoriously disaffected, and only waiting an opportunity to strike a fresh blow for freedom. There was still a further danger, peculiar to Candahar among the Affghan cities, which was the near vicinity of Herat. Herat had at one time been a mere Affghan provincial town, governed from Cabul, and on a par with Candahar and Jellalabad; but in the course of the civil wars it had become independent, and was now under the dominion of the Shah Kamran, a descendant of the old Suddozye princes, and the only one who had succeeded in retaining a hold upon the country through all the recent troubles and revolutions. Shah Kamran was at this time (1840) a worn out and feeble old man, broken down by long years of debauchery, and had made over the active administration of the government into the hands of his Wuzeer, or Vizier, Yar Mohammed. Yar Mohammed was of a most unquiet disposition, bold, courageous, crafty; 'his avarice and his ambition,' we are told, 'knew no bounds, and nothing was suffered to stand in the way of their gratification. Utterly without tenderness or compassion, he had no regard for the sufferings of others. Sparing neither sex nor age, he trod the weak with an iron heel, and, a tyrant himself, encouraged the tyranny of his retainers.' After having succeeded, through the skill and energy of Eldred Pottinger, in repulsing the attack of Persia, he began to contemplate schemes of conquest, and cast a covetous eye upon Candahar. The Dooranis and Ghilzyes were encouraged by him in their disaffection, and from time to time he even threatened to advance with his own forces against the town.

---

[1] Kaye, *The War in Affghanistan*, vol. ii. p. 103.

Thus, when Major Rawlinson was selected by Sir William Macnaghten towards the end of June for the post of Political Agent in Western Affghanistan, and received on July 4 the Shah's official confirmation of his appointment, it was far from a bed of roses that he was called upon to occupy. While Macnaghten himself was entangled in a network of difficulties at the northern capital, and was threatened by Kohistanis, Kizzilbashis, and the motley group that Dost Mohammed was collecting about him in the mountains east and north of Bamian, his lieutenant at the western one was almost as greatly and as disagreeably occupied with Ghilzyes, Dooranis, and other revolted tribes, while at the same time he had the graver anxiety of preparing against a possible attack in force from a more formidable foe, who might bring against him the entire strength of the Herat principality. Moreover, his communications with India were very seriously threatened. Khelat, which had been seized on the advance march to Candahar in 1839, revolted to the enemy in 1840. Quetta was besieged on one occasion by the Khankurs, and the direct line to India was in continual danger of being broken. Major Rawlinson had scarcely entered upon his province when he felt that, like his chief, he was standing at bay, without a possibility of retreat, and menaced on every side by fanatic enemies.

Still, he had for the time two powerful supports. The Envoy, Macnaghten, had thorough confidence in him, and gave him the full benefit of his advice and countenance. He wrote to him by almost every post, and generally wrote a long letter. 'It is very consolatory to me,' he says in one letter (July 18, 1840), 'to think that I have you at Candahar. Had Leech been in office at the present crisis, I should have been in a state of extreme disquietude.'

His other great support was the military commandant, General Nott. Nott was a thorough soldier—brave, straightforward, energetic, sometimes a little irritable. He had not been altogether well-treated by the military authorities, and was a trifle soured by disappointment. He was choleric, and occasionally rough spoken; but he was an honest man, a firm friend, and one with whom it was scarcely possible to have a misunderstanding. His conjunction with Major Rawlinson in the direction of affairs at Candahar has been called a 'fortunate association'; and it is admitted on all hands that the two worked together, while the association continued, with a very remarkable degree of harmony and smoothness. If the reason was, as has been said,[1] that 'Nott had, in his political colleague at Candahar, a man of excellent temper, and of great tact and forbearance,' the credit must be assigned in part to that colleague himself, in part to the politician who appointed him.

Among the functions of 'Political Agent,' as understood in an Affghan city during the period of the occupation, was that of gathering in the revenue; and this duty devolving upon Major Rawlinson, formed one of the earliest of his troubles. Unfortunately, the subjects of an Oriental State, however governed, are subject to the weakness which has been called 'an ignorant impatience of taxation.' The defect was especially prevalent among the Affghans at the time in question from the fact that for several years, owing to the convulsions which had shaken the country, scarcely any revenue had been collected. It was further aggravated in the Candahar territory by the rash promises which Shah Soojah had flung about on his first entrance into the western capital, which had been understood as exempting a large portion of his western subjects from all taxation whatever. But it was impossible to allow this condition of things to continue. A settled government cannot exist in any country unless a revenue is forthcoming. The Envoy, therefore, on the submission of Dost Mohammed in November 1840, issued a general direction to his subordinates that the time had come when the claims of the State must be enforced, and the taxes once more collected regularly. When Major Rawlinson, however, attempted to execute this order within the limits of his province, he was met by a strenuous resistance. This was particularly the case in Zemindawer, where the tribes rose, defeated a body of Shah Soojah's horse which had been sent against them, and drove the royal troops from the field. A demonstration, or something rather more than a demonstration, on the part of the Government was hereby rendered necessary. In concert with his political colleague, General Nott, on the morning of January 1, 1841, sent out a detachment from Candahar against the rebels, under the command of Captain Farrington. The movement was successful. Though the Doorani horse, some 1,200 or 1,500 strong, showed a bold front and stood their ground with considerable firmness, yet after a time the artillery fire was too hot for them, and they became disordered. The infantry then charged, drove the rebels from their position, and dispersed them without difficulty. But fresh blood had been shed. The peace which Macnaghten imagined himself to have established had been broken, and that chronic state of scarcely veiled rebellion had revealed itself which, in a short time, spread over almost the whole of Affghanistan, and tended to limit the British authority to the cantonments occupied by the British troops.

---

[1] Kaye, *The War in Affghanistan*, vol ii. p. 104.

Major Rawlinson did his best, through the spring and summer of 1841, to grapple with these difficulties, but found them become continually more threatening. The Dooranis under Aktur Khan became more and more excited in Zemindawer; Yar Mohammed at Herat grew weekly more insolent; the Ghilzyes between Candahar and Cabul assumed an increasingly menacing attitude. These last were exasperated by the fact that the English were re-building the fortress of Khelat-i-Ghilzye in their country with the manifest intention of posting there a strong garrison for the purpose of over-awing the circumjacent tribes. They insulted Major Lynch, the officer in immediate command of the district, and provoked him to assault one of their forts, which was stormed and taken, with the result of rendering the Ghilzyes more hostile than ever. Further menaces on their part were met by further chastisement, and feeling became embittered on both sides, in spite of occasional attempts on the part of the British to conciliate the most obnoxious of their enemies. Major Rawlinson by the middle of the year seems to have fully appreciated the growing peril of the situation, and to have warned the Envoy repeatedly of the probability of a general outbreak. When things at any time appeared to mend, he was not deceived by the seeming improvement. 'I do not anticipate,' he said in one of his letters to his chief,[1] 'that by the conciliatory treatment recommended we gain any other advantage than that of temporary tranquillity; and however prudent therefore it may be at present to induce the rebel chief of Zemindawer to abstain from disorders by the hope of obtaining through his forbearance substantial personal benefits, I still think that when the danger of foreign aggression is removed, and efficient means are at our disposal, the rights of his Majesty's (Shah Soojah's) government should be asserted in that strong and dignified manner which can alone ensure a due respect being shown to his authority.' And, as time went on, his warnings became more and more urgent. The Envoy, however, met his representations with incredulity and even with reproach. 'I don't like,' he says on one occasion,[2] 'reverting to unpleasant discussions, but you know well that I have been frank with you from the beginning, and that I have invariably told you of what I thought I had reason to complain. This may be confined to one topic—your taking an unwarrantably gloomy view of our position, and entertaining and disseminating rumours favourable to that view. We have enough of difficulties and enough of croakers without adding to the number needlessly. I have just seen a letter from Mr. D—— to Captain J——, in which he says the state of the country is becoming worse and worse every day. These idle statements may cause much mischief, and, often repeated as they are, they neutralise my protestations to the contrary. I know them to be utterly false as regards this part of the country, and I have no reason to believe them to be true as regards your portion of the kingdom, merely because the Tokhees are indulging in their accustomed habits of rebellion, or because Aktur Khan has a pack of ragamuffins at his heels.' Macnaghten *would* not believe that our hold on the country was seriously endangered, much less that a catastrophe was impending. He saw all things through *couleur de rose* spectacles, and, having no apprehensions himself, was angry when he found that others entertained them.

---

[1] Letter of March 11, 1841.

[2] Letter of June 13, 1841.

Still, even Macnaghten had from time to time to admit that the audacity of the rebels went beyond all bounds, and that repressive measures were necessary. In the month of July he gave his sanction to an expedition against the Dooranis upon the Helmend, which was commanded by Colonel Woodburn, but achieved only a qualified success. It had to be followed up, therefore, by another expedition in the month of August, which was, on the whole, more fortunate. Captain Griffin, supported by Prince Sufder Jung, attacked the great body of the Doorani insurgents under Aktur and Akrum Khans, and, after driving them from a strong position into the open, charged the mass with terrific effect, and completely shattered it. The two chiefs, Aktur and Akrum Khans, fled. Their followers dispersed themselves. The tribe was for the time disheartened, and reduced, if not to submission, at any rate to quiescence.

The Ghilzyes, about the same time, received a further blow. Colonel Chambers, at the head of two Sepoy regiments, a portion of the 5th Light Cavalry, and some irregular horse, fell in with a strong Ghilzye party on the morning of August 5, and gave them a complete defeat. The tribesmen scattered themselves in panic flight; and their leader not only made submission, but surrendered himself.

Even so, however, all was not quiet in the Candahar country. A portion of the Dooranis, under Akrum Khan, was still in arms upon the north-western frontier, in the Tereen and Dehrawut territory, and it was determined, early in September, to send out a considerable force from Candahar for their reduction. The force was originally commanded by Colonel Wymer; but eventually General Nott himself took his place. A grand demonstration was made with so much success, that by the beginning of October most of the principal Doorani chiefs had come into the British camp and given themselves up. The only 'irreconcilable' was Akrum Khan, with whom promises and threats were alike powerless. It was thought of great importance to obtain possession of his person. A fellow-countryman, therefore, having been induced to reveal his whereabouts, the unfortunate Doorani chief was surprised and seized. Nott carried him to Candahar, where, after consultation with the Envoy and the puppet monarch, he was executed, being blown from a gun.

The general establishment of tranquillity, so long and so often foretold by the Envoy, seemed to be about at last to pass from a dream into a reality. Western Affghanistan was pacified, and Macnaghten anticipated no serious troubles in the east. Under these circumstances, mutual confidences and congratulations were exchanged between the Candahar Governor and his chief, who thus expressed himself in a letter dated October 21:—

MY DEAR RAWLINSON,—I hardly know how to answer your separate note of the 15th, received this morning. But I can assure you I feel exceedingly proud at having gained your good opinion. We have had a very trying time of it since we were first officially associated; and it was no wonder that you, occupying as you did the post of danger, should have occasionally yielded to despondency, especially when under the influence of severe illness. But in all other respects you have given me entire satisfaction, and I feel that we are mainly indebted to your temper, judgment, and energy for overcoming the numerous difficulties by which we have been surrounded. Wherever I go, I shall carry with me a pleasing recollection of your friendship, and of the laborious and successful operations which have fallen to our joint lot. Believe me, my dear Rawlinson, most truly yours, W. H. MACNAGHTEN.

It is always the unexpected which happens. Within little more than a week of the despatch of this letter, and while the Envoy still believed in the establishment of perfect tranquillity throughout Eastern Affghanistan, the troubles broke out which led on to those terrible disasters from the contemplation of which every patriotic Englishman shrinks, and which resulted in our withdrawal from the country that we had invaded so rashly and unnecessarily. On November 1 the following letter was addressed by the Envoy to Major Rawlinson:—

Cabul, Nov. 1, 1841.

MY DEAR RAWLINSON,—We are now coming in for our share of disasters. Yesterday evening I had a letter from Macgregor, apprising me that Sale's brigade had been attacked between Jugdallak and Sourkhab by a party of seven or eight hundred Ghilzyes, and that we lost about ninety men killed and wounded. Captain Wyndham, of the 35th, was killed in the affair; Lieutenant Coombs, of the same regiment, was wounded, as were Lieutenants Nottray and Holcombe, of the 13th. This is very deplorable. Macgregor does not know whether or no the chiefs are at the bottom of the business. He suspects they are; but I think not, and I trust that in a day or two all will be right again. But these are ticklish times, and the aspect of affairs in the direction of Ingas and Nigras is threatening. I wish we had our two Janbaz regiments[1] back again, or at least one of them. I beg you will return them as soon as possible. I don't know when I can get away from Cabul, for I am very unwilling to leave affairs in an unsettled state. I am delighted to find that affairs in your direction have assumed so tranquil an appearance. Believe me, most truly yours, W. H. MACNAGHTEN.

The Envoy's sanguine hopes that 'in a day or two all would be right again' were doomed to disappointment. Matters went from bad to worse. On November 2 —the day after this letter was written—occurred the serious and most lamentable outbreak in the city of Cabul, wherein Sir Alexander Burnes, his brother Charles, and Lieutenant Broadfoot lost their lives. The tale of their murder has been told so graphically and so vividly by the historian of the Great Affghan War,[2] that it is unnecessary to repeat it here. It was the bloody prelude to a still more bloody tragedy, or rather series of tragedies. Its immediate result was the complete recovery of the city of Cabul by the Cabulis, the plunder of the British Treasury, and the massacre of all within the city who were regarded as adherents of the British cause. The after effects were the long list of disasters which tarnished the British arms during the remainder of 1841 and the early portion of 1842.

Macnaghten, though usually so over-sanguine, was for once not blind to the magnitude of the existing peril. On November 3, the day after the massacre, he despatched the following appeal to Candahar for help :—

---

[1] Native Affghan cavalry.

[2] Vol. ii. pp. 169-172.

My dear Rawlinson,—We have a very serious insurrection in the city just now ; and, from the elements of which it is composed, I apprehend much disturbance in the surrounding country for some time to come. It would be only prudent, therefore, that the 16th, 42nd, and 43rd, with a troop of horse artillery and some cavalry, should come here immediately. General Nott will be written to officially in this respect. We have been shelling the city all day, but apparently with little effect. I hope there will be no difficulty about supplies—your writing to Leech will obviate this. On second thoughts, I shall forward this letter under a flying seal through Palmer and Leech. Unless you send me this reinforcement, there will be a probability of our supplies being cut off. Most truly yours,

W. H. Macnaghten.

At the same time a peremptory order was sent to General Nott from Major-General Elphinstone, 'commanding in Affghanistan,' in the following terms :—

Cabul, Nov. 3, 1841.

Sir,—I have the honour, by direction of Major-General Elphinstone, commanding in Affghanistan, to request that you will immediately direct the whole of the troops under orders to return to Hindustan from Candahar, to march upon Cabul instead of Shikarpore, excepting any that shall have got beyond the Khojuck Pass, and that you will instruct the officers who may command to use the utmost practicable expedition. You are requested to attach a troop of his Majesty the Shah's Horse Artillery to the above force, and likewise half the 1st Regiment of Cavalry.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
J. Paton, Capt., A.Q.M.G.

These important orders did not reach Candahar until about November 12; but already, by the 7th, rumours had come in of the Cabul disasters, while at the same time fresh outbreaks had occurred in the near vicinity of the city which seemed to show that every man of the existing garrison might be wanted for its defence. It was at once agreed between the Resident and the Commandant to recall the three regiments which, under the delusive notion of impending tranquillity, had been allowed to start for Hindustan, and, after some hesitation, it was resolved that they should be despatched to the relief of the troops imperilled at Cabul. They started on November 17. But their departure was wholly against the wishes of General Nott, who thus addressed their leader, Colonel Maclaren, and his staff on taking leave of them: 'Remember, the despatch of this brigade to Cabul is not my doing. I am compelled to defer to superior authority; but, in my own private opinion, I am sending you all to destruction.' These were not encouraging words; and the brigade, starting under such auspices, could scarcely be expected to push forward with any great amount of zeal or eagerness. Two marches only beyond Khelat-i-Ghilzye, on the road to Cabul, were accomplished; then advantage was taken of a light fall of snow, and the death of a few baggage animals, to make a halt, and declare the projected advance impracticable. Secure of the approval of their chief commanding officer at Candahar, the brigade under Maclaren turned round and retraced its steps, reaching the western capital about the end of the month of November.

It is difficult to estimate with any approach to certainty the effect of this movement. There can be no doubt that the brigade, if ably led, might easily have made its way to Cabul before the great disasters to our arms occurred; but whether it would have sufficed to turn the scale in our favour, and to save the Envoy and the British force under Elphinstone from destruction, is wholly uncertain. Possibly, it would have merely shared the fate of those unfortunates. At any rate, as General Nott did not, and could not, know the straits to which the Cabul force was reduced, while he was fully aware of his own danger, and of the risks which he and the troops under him would run if he consented to diminish his force, he cannot be greatly blamed for the course which he took. Nor can Major Rawlinson be held responsible for his decision. It was a purely military question which had to be determined, and Nott was supreme in all military matters.

There was much that might well alarm a prudent commander in the position of affairs both inside and outside Candahar. As the fate of the Envoy and of the force under Elphinstone became generally known to the wild tribes in the neighbourhood, their patriotism received a vast accession of fervour. Disaffection to the British rule blazed out on every side. Cabuli chiefs came down from the north, instructed to use their best efforts to stir up open rebellion. Dooranis, Barukzyes, Kizzilbashes, stood expectant, like vultures watching an occasion to swoop upon a destined prey. Among the professed adherents of the British cause there was wavering and treachery; the native levies serving on the British side, Janbaz and others, were of doubtful fidelity; Shah Soojah himself was suspected; and the Affghans within the city were not to be depended on at a pinch. It was a most anxious time for all those concerned in the direction of affairs at Candahar, but more especially for the Resident. Major Rawlinson was practically cut off from all communication with his political superiors, whether at Cabul or in India. He was thrown upon his own resources, and had to act upon his own responsibility. At first he based his policy on the maxim, 'Divide et impera,' and fomented division between the Dooranis and the Barukzyes with their Ghilzye allies. He succeeded in forming an alliance with a certain number of the Doorani chiefs, and even obtained from them hostages for their fidelity. At his instigation they relieved Candahar from their near presence, and moved towards the Ghilzye country with hostile intent; they checked the advance of the Cabulis under Mohammed Atta Khan, and kept down the religious fanaticism which was beginning to show itself among their tribes.[1] But it was not long ere they came to doubt the prudence of the line which they had taken, and to draw off from the British alliance, standing aloof, and as Herodotus would have said, *καρηδοκοῶντες τὸν πόλεμον*. The Resident had therefore to turn his attention to another point. The proximity of the Janbaz, or Native Affghan Cavalry in the service of Shah Soojah, constituted a danger. They were notoriously disaffected, and certain to turn against the British, who had raised them and paid them, should a critical moment arrive. Major Rawlinson wished to be quit of them, and arranged a plan by which they should be transferred to Ghirisk, at a safe distance from Candahar, and in a district, moreover, where the inhabitants were not likely to sympathise with them. All was prepared for the departure before dawn on December 27 ; but, through some misunderstanding of the orders given, a portion of the troops was not ready at the appointed hour. Fresh orders were therefore issued; but this alarmed the Janbaz, who had been plotting to mutiny upon the march, and thought their plot had been discovered. After some hesitation, they determined—those of them, 230 in number, who had come together at the time fixed, and were ready to start—that they would revolt at once. They rushed to the tent where their com-

---

[1] The fanaticism showed itself not only in the field, where large bodies of Ghazees were continually throwing away their lives in warfare of the wildest and most reckless kind, but also occasionally within the city. Major Rawlinson was accustomed to pass the greater portion of the day in dispensing justice to all complainants. The Court House in which he sat was a large room, having one entrance to it from his own house, and another from a piazza or square, open to all comers, and forming a part of the town. It was his custom to sit in the Court House deciding cases till sunset, or a little before sunset, or a little after, and then to descend into the square, mount his horse, which one of his grooms always held in readiness, and have a scamper over the open country beyond the walls. On one occasion, however, the press of business was so great. that for three consecutive days he found himself detained in Court till after the sun had gone down, and it was too late for him to have his ride. On the last of these three days, just as he was about to dissolve the Court and rise, there was suddenly a commotion at the further end of the room towards the square. A prisoner was being brought in. 'This man,' said the officer in charge, 'has just stabbed your secretary in the square outside and killed him.' 'Yes,' said the accused, 'I will explain. I am a Ghazee, and one of a band of forty, who met together three days ago, and swore upon the Koran to take the life of the British Resident. We were to draw lots, and he on whom the lot should fall was to solemnly pledge himself neither to eat nor drink until

he had stabbed the Great Feringhee. I was the man on whom the lot fell. Three mornings ago I entered the town, disguised as you see, and with a dagger inside my vest. I waited in the square all day for the Resident to come out. His horse was there, but he never came. I returned the next day, and waited, but again to no purpose ; he did not come, and the horse was taken away by the groom. This morning I came again—I was nearly mad with thirst—I felt I could endure no longer, so I resolved that, if for the third time the Great Feringhee did not come out to take his ride before sunset, I would kill the biggest Feringhee that I could see anywhere, and take the consequences. That is all.' Taken red-handed, the prisoner had to be executed. He was blown from a gun in the great square within half an hour.

manding officers were sleeping, and attacked them in their beds. One was killed outright; the other received seven wounds, from the effects of which he died four months later. But a speedy Nemesis overtook the mutineers. General Nott sent out a body of horse in pursuit of them, consisting of 250 of the Shah's cavalry, under Captain Leeson, and a hundred Parsewan Janbaz, under Captain Wilson, who came up with them at Chuplanee, a village about twelve miles from the capital, and brought them to an engagement. The combat is thus described by Major Rawlinson :—'Captain Leeson had to file his men across a difficult canal, and had only just formed line [beyond it] when the Janbaz charged in a body. Our men charged at the same time in line, and the flanks swept round the Janbaz horse, who were probably not above 150 strong, numbers having left the rebel standard before reaching Chuplanee. For about five minutes a spirited fight took place hand to hand, when the Janbaz broke and fled, pursued by our cavalry. Of the enemy about thirty were killed and fifty wounded in the flight and pursuit. Our loss was trifling. Kalundar Khan, the ringleader of the mutiny, and Bostan Khan, another Yuz Bashee, were killed in the fight. Taj Mohammed is believed to have been present, and to have charged with his men; but there is no positive evidence of this. Wilson's men were backward in the charge, rather however, it would appear, from want of confidence in each other than from any disinclination to shed the blood of the Doorani mutineers, for in the pursuit they cut up many of the enemy, and conducted themselves exceedingly well.'[1] The result was, on the whole, favourable. The Janbaz were cleared out of the way.

---

[1] Major Rawlinson's MS. Journal for 1841.

The want of cohesion and solidarity among the tribes, who were all more or less disaffected, was made manifest, and the weakness which such disunion could not but produce, seemed to invite attack, and to promise an easy victory. But for a time it was thought desirable to temporise. The disaffected within the city still constituted a danger, and the question of their removal, which had now come into the field of practical politics, required much consideration and preparatory arrangement. Meanwhile events of a disturbing character were continually occurring. Two days after the defection of the Janbaz, Prince Sufder Jung, one of the sons of Shah Soojah, disappeared from Candahar, and joined the camp of Atta Mohammed. This chief had fixed his head-quarters at Dehli, about forty miles to the west of Candahar, and was attracting all the neighbouring tribes to his standard. Major Rawlinson was eager that he should be at once attacked and driven off. 'Sufder Jung,' he wrote to General Nott (January 7, 1842), 'has fixed his abode at Dehli, and has declared himself the leader of an insurrection, aiming at our expulsion from the country. Up to the present time no very considerable number of men have joined his standard, and the only chiefs in attendance of any note are those who have accompanied Mohammed Atta Khan from Cabul, together with the Ghilzye leaders, Sumud Khan, Meer Alim Khan, and the Gooroo. It would thus be an easy matter, by the detachment of a brigade to Dehli, to break up the insurgent force, and, whether the rebels fought or fled, the consequences would be of almost equal benefit with regard to the restoration of tranquillity. But I anticipate a very serious aggravation of affairs if we allow the Prince to remain unmolested for any length of time at Dehli, or to move from that place in the direction of Candahar with the avowed purpose of attacking us. Our inactivity would not fail to be ascribed by the great body of the Ooloos to an inability to act on the offensive, and an impression of this sort having once gained ground, the natural consequence, in the present highly excited state of religious feeling, would be a general rise of the population against us.'[1] But the commandant was not to be persuaded. He regarded a division of the troops under his command as inexpedient, perhaps ruinous. 'I conceive,' he said in reply,[2] 'that the whole country is in a state of rebellion, and that nothing but the speedy concentration of the troops at this place has saved the different detachments from being destroyed in detail, and the city of Candahar from being besieged. In the event of Sufder Jung assembling any considerable number of men, I never even contemplated waiting for the attack of that Prince under the walls of Candahar, as mentioned in your note. I repeatedly told you, that if he approached within twelve or fifteen miles of this station, I would move out and disperse the rebels. But, because this young Prince is said to have assembled 1,000 or 1,500 followers at a distance of forty miles from Candahar, it would, indeed, be truly absurd were I, in the very depth of winter, to send out a detachment wandering about the country in search of the rebel fugitive, destroying my men amidst frost and snow, killing the few carriage cattle we have left, and thus be totally disabled at the proper season from moving ten miles in any direction from the city, or even have the means of falling back, should that unfortunately ever become necessary.'

---

[1] Letter of Major Rawlinson to General Nott, dated Jan. 7, 1842.

[2] Letter of General Nott to Major Rawlinson, dated Jan. 8, 1842.

The difference of opinion between the two authorities did not turn out to be of much importance, since within the space of a few days the rebel army quitted the position which it had taken up at Dehli, and, moving down the valley of the Arghandab, took post on the river, at the distance of about five miles from the city.

Preparations were at once made for a sortie in force. The troops were divided, and while Nott, with the Queen's 40th Regiment, the 2nd, 16th, 38th, and a wing of the 42nd Native Infantry, the Shah's 5th Infantry, Anderson's two troops of Horse Artillery, Blood's battery of Bombay Artillery, and Leeson and Haldane's horse, made ready to issue forth on the morrow and attack the mutineers, the remainder of the force, consisting of the 43rd Native Infantry, a wing of the 42nd, the 1st and 2nd Shah's Infantry, and a number of old field pieces found in the place and repaired for the occasion, were disposed about the walls and gates as seemed most likely to be serviceable. Major Rawlinson, at the same time, communicated with the native city authorities, and arranged that the population should remain indoors on the morrow under penalty of death if they appeared in the streets. He also sent warnings to various tribes without the walls, that, if they joined the insurgents, it would be remembered against them. For his own part he resolved to accompany the General in his sortie at the head of a small body of native troops which were attached to his person.

The morrow came—January 12—and at daybreak Nott quitted his quarters with about a thousand men and sixteen guns, and, after a short march, came up with the enemy on the right bank of the Arghandab, near a fortified village called Killa-chuk. He estimated them as numbering from 15,000 to 20,000 men, but Major Rawlinson believed that the entire number of combatants did not exceed 5,000. However this may have been, Nott at once attacked. The action was of short duration, and was regarded by Major Rawlinson as 'a mere skirmish,' but it figures in some accounts of the war as *the Battle of Arghandab.* 'At the end of twenty minutes, during which our guns and musketry, telling with deadly effect upon the heavy masses of the enemy, were answered by a wild and ineffective fire from their ranks, the rebel army was in confusion and flight. The Ghilzyes fled in one direction, the Janbaz in another; the people from the villages hastened to their own homes. Atta Mohammed attempted to make a stand; but our troops moved forward, carried the village by storm, and slaughtered,' it is said, 'every man, woman, and child within its walls.'[1] The British line was then reformed, and Atta Mohammed prepared to meet a second attack. But the cavalry, with two horse artillery guns, were now slipped upon the enemy, who broke and fled in dismay. The humiliation of Atta Mohammed and his princely ally was complete. 'The Doorani chiefs now began to throw off the mask. They moved down to the assistance of the rebel army; but the battle had been fought before they could arrive upon the field, and they only came up in time to see their countrymen in panic flight. Sufder Jung, Atta Mohammed, and the other rebel chiefs found an honourable refuge in the Doorani camp; and from that time they who had left Candahar as our friends, presented a front of open hostility to our authority.'[1]

---

[1] Kaye: *The War in Affghanistan,* vol. iii. p. 138. It may be hoped that this is an exaggeration. Major Rawlinson, who is Mr. Kaye's authority, only says that the storming of the village brought destruction on 'man, woman, and child.' He does not employ the important word 'every.'—MS. Diary for 1842.

The arrangements made for preserving the peace of the town during the continuance of the attack were altogether successful. Not the slightest disturbance occurred throughout the whole course of the day. Major Rawlinson found reason to believe that an outbreak had been intended, but that the peremptory order given to the inhabitants to remain within doors had prevented it. The danger from disaffection on the part of a section of the population had long occupied his thoughts, and he had had a census of the inhabitants taken, which had caused some alarm; but for the time he was satisfied to let things remain as they were, and not resort to the extreme measure of expelling from their homes the whole, or even any portion, of the native inhabitants. Later on he felt compelled to act differently.

The result of the engagement of January 12 was the establishment, for a considerable period, of comparative tranquillity. The chief hostile tribes, Ghilzyes and others, had been taught a lesson, and had moved away; the Dooranis had learnt the necessity of acting with caution and not precipitating a serious conflict. Both sides awaited with equal anxiety intelligence from Cabul, the one hopefully looking for, the other greatly fearing, that disaster to the British arms which ultimately occurred.

Between January 12 and February 28 no movements of any importance occurred. The Dooranis remained encamped in the neighbourhood of Candahar, but made no further attempt against the city. General Nott rested in his cantonments, content that the enemy was inactive, and continued at a respectful distance. The Affghan winter had set in, not with any extreme severity, but with sufficient rigour to render active operations difficult and undesirable. Snow fell and covered the ground, though not to any great depth, and the two foes watched each other across a wide extent of dreary winter landscape. In the Affghan camp there was little movement. In the English, life and animation were maintained by those games and sports to which the British soldier naturally resorts in times of dulness and inaction. The officers got up steeple-chases, they played at rackets, the soldiers snowballed each other. As the historian of the war observes: 'The dreadful snow, which had destroyed the Cabul army, was only a plaything in the hands of their brethren at Candahar.'[1]

---

[1] Kaye: *The War in Affghanistan*, vol. iii. p. 139.

On the Affghan side, the heart and soul of the insurrectionary movement, so far as Candahar was concerned, was at this time Mirza Ahmed. This chief, who for many months had played a double part, coquetting with Major Rawlinson, and more than half persuading him that he was on the British side, while he gave every assistance that he possibly could to the acting rebel leaders, was at last compelled by the Resident to throw off the mask, and openly take the direction of affairs into his hands. He was a man of very remarkable ability, and his assumption of the leadership was practically of enormous advantage to the rebel cause. 'Mirza Ahmed alone,' says Major Rawlinson in one of his despatches, 'could have so long preserved union among the discordant elements of which the Affghan camp was composed; he alone could have managed, by the most careful revenue arrangements, to have supported the concourse which was assembled round the standard of Sufder Jung; he alone, perhaps, could have prevented the Dooranis from risking an action in which they were sure to have been defeated; his measures throughout have been most skilful and well sustained. The chiefs were, in the first place, sent to recruit in the different districts where their influence chiefly prevailed; revenue was raised in the usual form for the support of the troops in anticipation of the coming harvest, the ryots receiving an acquittance from Mirza Ahmed in case the management should continue in his hands, and being assured that, if our power prevailed, we were too just to subject the cultivators to a double exaction. Statements of the Shah's connivance in the Cabul revolution were industriously circulated; incessant attempts were made to tamper with our Hindustani troops (not altogether without success), and letters were designedly thrown into our hands to render us suspicious of such chiefs as adhered to us, whilst the most stringent measures were adopted to deter the villagers around the city from bringing supplies into Candahar.' Such was the line of policy pursued by Mirza Ahmed from January 20 to February 20; and the policy was undoubtedly one which indicated great sagacity and great fertility of resource.

---

[1] Kaye: *The War in Affghanistan*, vol. iii. pp. 140–1.

The General, however, and the Resident, now again (after some little difference of opinion) at one with respect to the course to be pursued on their part, met with a fair amount of success the tactics of the Affghan chief, and maintained a firm and undaunted attitude. Notwithstanding Mirza Ahmed's warnings to the villagers, supplies were brought in, and the city provisioned for five months; communications with the friendly chiefs were kept up; preparations were made for a general disarming of the native population of the city; the fortifications were strengthened; and albeit amid many anxieties and some sufferings, the British garrison kept up its heart, and showed a brave face to its adversaries.

But a severe trial was now to be experienced. On February 21 two couriers reached Candahar from Khelat-i-Ghilzye, bringing alarming advices from Major Leech, the officer in command at that place, and at the same time transmitting a letter, dated December 25, from General Elphinstone and Major Pottinger to the Resident at Candahar, which was found to be of the most serious import. It seems best to give this letter *in extenso*:—

Cabul, 25th December, 1841.

Sir,—It having been found necessary to conclude an arrangement, founded on that of the late Sir W. H. Macnaghten, for the evacuation of Affghanistan by our troops, we have the honour to request that you will intimate to the officer commanding at Candahar our wish that the troops now at that place and at Khelat-i-Ghilzye, together with the British authorities and troops within your jurisdiction, should return to India at the earliest convenient season. Newab Jubbar Khan, who is the bearer of this letter, will render you all the assistance in his power. He has been appointed Governor of Candahar on the part of the existing Government.

E. Pottinger,
W. K. Elphinstone, M.G.

P.S.—If you require two or three days to make your preparations, you must not remain in the city, but proceed to your cantonment. Whatever you are obliged to leave behind, you will make over to the Newab Jubbar Khan.

The receipt of this letter, which he perceived to be certainly genuine, placed Major Rawlinson in a position of extreme difficulty. He had the clear order of his political superior to evacuate Candahar at once, and retire upon India. He had a deep conviction that this would not be for the advancement of British interests, or for the honour of the British nation. Was he to disobey plain orders, or was he to take steps which he was convinced were inexpedient? In this dilemma he thought it his duty to consult the head military authority. What would General Nott advise? Nott felt no doubt or hesitation. Less of an expert than his colleague in the matter of handwriting and decipherment, he took the view that the letter might be a forgery concocted by the enemy. He was not going to act upon it. 'I have only to repeat,' he wrote in reply to a letter from the Resident, 'that I will not treat with any person whatsoever for the retirement of the British troops from Affghanistan, until I have received instructions from the Supreme Government. The letter signed "E. Pottinger" and "W. K. Elphinstone" may, or may not, be a forgery. I conceive these officers were not free agents at Cabul, and therefore their letter or order can have no weight with me.' It was agreed between the two that despatches from Calcutta should be waited for.

But this did not meet the whole difficulty. The political situation had become exceedingly awkward. British troops had entered the country as supporters of Shah Soojah, and as acting under his authority. If Shah Soojah had, as was currently reported at Candahar, broken off relations with the British authorities at Cabul, and joined their special foes, the Barukzyes; if, moreover, he was now acknowledged as king by all the Affghans, and bore undisputed sway over the whole country, what place was there for the foreign auxiliaries who were no longer wanted? The conclusion was too palpable to be overlooked by any one of even ordinary sagacity, much less by the acute and keen-witted Affghans. The British must go. Within two days of the arrival of Pottinger and Elphinstone's letter, Major Rawlinson received a summons from the leading Affghan chiefs to evacuate Candahar forthwith, and withdraw from the country. To this he sent the following reply:—

Major Rawlinson to Mirza Ahmed and
the Doorani Chiefs.

I have received your letter calling on us to evacuate Candahar, and I reply as follows:—

Your letter embraces two subjects. You assert, firstly, that we have no pretext for desiring to retain occupation of Candahar, now that Shah Soojah has put himself into the hands of the Cabul party; and you endeavour, secondly, to intimidate us into retirement by bringing forward our disasters at the capital as a warning of what we may expect at this place.

With reference to the first point, I admit that we entered the country only in support of the Shah Soojah's authority, and that, if his Majesty, having duly kept faith with us throughout, were to signify to the Indian Government, of his own free will, his desire to be left entirely to the protection of his Affghan subjects, there might be some reason in your argument. But, at present, everything tells against you. We know the Shah to have exerted himself actively for the suppression of the Cabul insurrection at the outset—we know him to regard the Barukzyes of Cabul as his natural enemies—the only letters that have been received from him are couched in vague terms, merely intimating that the Affghans have again tendered to him their allegiance; and we have every reason, therefore, for supposing that he has been placed in his present position contrary to his inclinations, and that he must desire the assistance of our troops to support him against the factious nobles who are aiming to usurp his power. When you can produce an authenticated document bearing his Majesty's seal, and proved to have been spontaneously executed by him, which shall distinctly call upon us to quit the country, and leave him to the support of his Affghan subjects, it will be time enough to discuss the question whether or not there may be any legitimate reason for our desiring to remain.

With regard to the second point, a few words will suffice. If you experienced such loss and difficulty at Cabul in overcoming a small detachment of our troops, isolated from support, without provisions, and in the most inclement season of the year, while you were amply supplied with money and the munitions of war, and the whole country was in your favour, what can you expect at Candahar, where we have 10,000 men in garrison, a favourable season before us, ample provisions, a strong walled town to protect us, and an open country at all times practicable for troops between us and our supports, where a large part of the population have already declared openly in our favour, and where, when it becomes known that the Shah is but a puppet in the hands of the Barukzye Sirdars, the Dooranis will coalesce with us for his support?

You are altogether without money, or any of the material of war; you are jealous of each other; the voice of the country is so little with you that, after months of agitation, you are almost where you set out. Our Jellalabad force must hold the Cabulis most effectually in check, and prevent the possibility of their assisting you; and thus, although you may harass us, put a stop to trade, and cause a useless expenditure of blood, it is quite impossible that you can expel us from the country by force.

Why should we struggle then? You admit to have received many benefits from us, and you profess a desire to cultivate our future friendship. It can neither, therefore, tally with your wishes, nor your interests, to engage with us in unprofitable hostility. Although I am without any direct instructions from my Government, I will take upon me to say, that we do not desire to conquer this country for ourselves. Our object is to be on friendly terms with its ruler, and to enjoy a political influence in it superior to that of any other foreign power. At present we hold Shah Soojah to be King of Affghanistan, and Shahzada Timour to be his Majesty's representative at Candahar; and, as the friends of his Majesty, we are bound to consider those who appear in arms against us as the enemies of the Shah and the Prince.

When we receive letters from the Indian Government, written subsequently to their being informed of the late affairs at Cabul, we shall understand the line of policy that is to be adopted for the future, and I shall then be able to address to such parties as may be duly constituted to receive it a more definite reply. I can only conjecture at present that the Government will desire to see Shah Soojah rescued from the state of pupillage in which he is now held by the Barukzye Sirdars, and that, having restored to him the independent exercise of his power, a treaty will be entered into with him or with his constituted authorities by provisions of which our future proceedings with reference to this country will be regulated.

H. C. Rawlinson.

Feb. 25th, 1842.

On the day following, further letters having come in, a postscript was added, to the effect that fresh intelligence had been received, leaving no doubt that the Shah was little more than a prisoner in the hands of the Barukzyes, and that it had also transpired that forces were on their way from India to take vengeance for the murder of the British Envoy.

It was a satisfaction to the two officers, who had had to make so momentous a decision, to find later on that the course which they had pursued was approved by the Supreme Government; but this satisfaction was not obtained till some considerable time had elapsed. In the meanwhile the burden of their responsibility weighed heavily upon them, though, fortunately, without paralysing their energies, or even seriously cramping their action. 'The activity of Rawlinson at this time,' says the historian of the Affghan War, 'was unceasing. He exerted himself, and often with good success, to detach different tribes from the rebel cause; and was continually corresponding both with the chiefs in the Doorani camp and in the neighbouring villages. It was his policy to draw off the Barukzyes from the Doorani confederacy, and to stimulate the Dooranis against the Barukzyes, by declaring that the Shah was a mere instrument in the hands of the latter. It was debated, indeed, whether the Dooranis could not be induced to move off to Cabul for the rescue of the King.'[1]

Meanwhile, the Doorani chiefs, on their part, inspirited by the intelligence from the capital, and angered by the Resident's stinging reply to their demands, were concentrating their forces, and preparing for a far more serious attack upon Candahar and its garrison than any which they had hitherto made. All the chiefs drew together; each mustered his followers in the fullest force that he could; the city was threatened on every side, its defenders kept constantly on the alert; and the state of things became by degrees so menacing, that fresh measures on the part of the defenders were seen to be necessary, unless the defence was to be given up.

---

[1] Kaye, *History of the War in Affghanistan*, vol. ii. p. 147.

Major Rawlinson had long recognised the presence of a large disaffected element in the population of the city, which necessarily constituted a danger, and more especially when external attack was to be expected. He had foreseen the probable necessity of expelling this portion of the inhabitants, and had made preparations accordingly; but unwillingness to cause them suffering had induced him to postpone the measure as long as possible. At length, however, the time was come when any further postponement would have compromised the safety of the British troops and officials, and when, consequently, the expulsion could no longer be put off. On March 3, therefore, he began to clear the city of its Affghan inhabitants. Exempting a certain number, as being peaceful citizens—merchants, followers of useful trades, and a few members of the priesthood—he required the rest of the Affghan inhabitants to quit the town—in all, about a thousand families. No active resistance was made to the harsh but necessary measure. It would, however, have been evaded, or very laxly carried out by the municipal authorities, had not the Resident told off an officer and a party of sepoys to each district, to ensure the clearance being effectual. Between 5,000 and 6,000 suspected persons were thus got rid of, and the danger of disturbance within the city was thus reduced to a minimum.

But this step was only preliminary to another and more important one. General Nott was of opinion that the time had come when the enemy must be brought to an engagement, and made to feel the weight of the British arms. Accordingly, no sooner was the expulsion of the disaffected Affghans accomplished, than (on March 7) he took the field at the head of the main bulk of his forces. These consisted of the

40th Queen's Infantry, four regiments of native troops (also infantry), a wing of one of the Shah's regiments, sixteen guns, and the whole of the available cavalry. There were left for the protection of the city two regiments and a half of the Shah's foot, together with a single regiment of Native Infantry. All the gates of the city were blocked up with the exception of the Herat gate, and a portion of the gate of Shikarpoor, which were left unblocked, to allow of the return of our troops after they should have dispersed the enemy.

General Nott, however, found the enemy disinclined to come to an engagement. They had other plans in contemplation. As he advanced, they retired, first across the Turnuck, and then across the Arghandab, the two chief rivers of the vicinity. The General pursued, but only succeeded in coming up, on the 7th, with a portion of the enemy's cavalry, which made as if it would charge, but was stopped by a few discharges of grape from Anderson's guns. The affair was not of much importance, as on our side not a musket was fired, nor a man touched. On the next day, however, something like a general engagement took place. The enemy continued to retreat and Nott to advance. 'Twice upon the march the light companies were sent out to clear the heights, and in both instances we were completely successful. On approaching Zungiabad, the enemy appeared drawn out in line; but, as we advanced to the attack, they turned and fled. One party is said to have crossed the Dooree to the desert; another, with Mirza Ahmed and the Prince, to have crossed the Arghandab, and a third to have made away N.E. towards Hajee Gooroo.'[1] Clearly they were 'not inclined to meet our troops in the field.'

---

[1] Major Rawlinson's MS. Diary for March 8, 1842.

But they had another design. Following the judicious counsels of Mirza Ahmed, they had intended from the first to draw Nott's army out of Candahar till it should be a day's march from the city, and then secretly and silently double back and fall upon the place, which would be to a great extent denuded of its defenders. The plan was carried out during the night of the 9th. At daybreak on the morning of March 10 it was seen that a number of Affghan footmen had come down from the hills under cover of the darkness and had taken possession of Old Candahar, which was situated on the plain. Major Rawlinson saw at once that the intention was to attack the city during Nott's absence, and sent off three messengers to his camp, to inform him that the enemy had doubled back in his rear, and might be expected to proceed to the assault without delay. His forecast was correct. All day long the enemy kept flocking in, and occupying positions around the apparently doomed town. In the afternoon Saloo Khan, with 1,000 followers, joined the rebels in the old city; and towards sunset Mirza Ahmed and Sufder Jung, with their troops, occupied the cantonments. In all between 8,000 and 9,000 of the enemy were gathered together about the walls. As dusk approached, a villager driving a donkey-cart laden with brushwood crossed the bridge before the Herat gate, and finding it shut, made a request for admission. He was sorry to be so late, but he had been unavoidably delayed, and hoped the gatekeeper would not keep him out all night. The gatekeeper demurred; the man grumbled, and held him in conversation for some time. All the while he was unlading his brushwood as quietly as possible and piling it against the gate. At last, as he could not obtain an entrance, he growled out a malediction, turned his donkey round, and made off. But, at the final moment, he had lighted a match, and flung it among the dry brushwood, which was immediately in a flame, and blazed up furiously. The gate, being centuries old, and scorched by the suns of several hundred Affghan summers, was as dry as touchwood, and caught fire directly. It had been pitchy dark before, dusk having rapidly become night. Now, suddenly, the whole scene was brilliantly lighted up, and the coloured standards, the gleaming arms, the white turbans, and the savage faces of the excited enemy flashed out upon the defenders. 'The attack was made with extreme desperation,' says Major Rawlinson, who was an eye-witness, 'and was received with steadiness. Three rounds of grape were discharged from the gun upon the bastion; a shell was thrown in upon the mass of people at the gate; and the guard kept up a heavy fire of musketry from the ramparts. The enemy's success, however, in firing the gate seemed to give them confidence, and they pressed on with great resolution. We now brought the gun down from the bastion, and placed it in the gateway, supported this by another gun from the citadel, strengthened the point attacked with some 300 infantry, employed the Bheastees in endeavouring to extinguish the flames, and formed a strong and high barricade of grain bags above those which had been heaped up before in rear of the burning gate. About nine o'clock the gate fell outward, and then a number of the Ghazees[1] climbed over the bags and endeavoured to force their way in.'[2] But the infantry posted on either side of the gate, who had been warned that if they once allowed even a handful of the enemy to issue from the archway all would almost certainly be lost, stood their ground with splendid gallantry, and cut down every single man who scrambled over or through the barricade. The battle raged for three hours longer, from 9 P.M. to past midnight, the Ghazees occasionally retiring for a short distance, and then suddenly renewing their assaults, but always with ill-success. At length they were wearied out and drew off, having lost at least 600 men in killed and wounded, in the gateway and outside, along the line of the road and the bridge.

---

[1] Moslem fanatics.

[2] Major Rawlinson's MS. Diary for March 10.

While this desperate struggle was going on at the Herat gate, the Shikarpoor and Cabul gates were also the objects of attack. Brushwood had been collected by the enemy in the near vicinity of these gates also, and attempts were made to pile it against them and set it alight. But these attempts all failed. The defenders were upon the alert; and the brushwood, fortunately, would not kindle. Had any one of the entrances to the city been forced, it would most probably have been captured. Mirza Ahmed was on the watch for a signal indicative of an initial success, and was prepared, so soon as it should be given, to assault the Eydgah gate, leading into the citadel, which, under such circumstances, would have offered a poor resistance. The citadel taken, the place must have been evacuated, and the disasters of Cabul might very probably have been repeated. As it was, the successful defence of the three gates bitterly disappointed Mirza Ahmed, and roused much angry feeling among the tribes. A council of the chiefs was held soon after midnight, when it was recognised that all the attacks had failed, at which the infuriated Ghazees 'levelled the most violent reproaches against Mirza Ahmed, and were with difficulty restrained from laying violent hands upon the man who, they declared, had betrayed them into an attempt which had sacrificed the lives of hundreds of true believers, and ended only in failure and disgrace,'[1] while he carefully kept himself out of danger's way. But the storm blew over. There was general dismay and discouragement in the camp of the rebels; a certain number of them dispersed to their homes; a general break up of the force gathered together with so much difficulty was threatened; and, for the space of a fortnight, no further demonstration was made, either against Candahar or against the British forces.

This tranquil period was employed by the Resident in endeavours to repair the damage caused by the Ghazee ravages, which seemed likely to produce an entire failure of the coming harvest, and in negotiations which aimed at inducing various sections of the rebels to quit the general Doorani camp, and withdraw to a distance. A complete dispersion of the insurgents might probably have resulted from these negotiations, had not Shah Soojah about this time sent letters to the Doorani chiefs urging them to continue their attacks upon the Candahar army, and promising to send them shortly a strong reinforcement. Hence the state of tension, which had set in about the end of December 1841, still continued, with occasional sharp collisions between the hostile forces; but the repulse from the walls of the city had damped the ardour of the assailants, who now for the most part maintained a respectful distance, and contented themselves with a guerilla warfare.

Meanwhile disquieting intelligence reached Candahar both from the north and from the south. On the north, Ghuzni, which had been taken with so great an effort, and boasted of with so much pomp, was threatened by the tribesmen of the neighbourhood, and, after a brave resistance, fell into the enemy's hands. The treachery which had involved the garrison of Cabul in destruction was once more repeated, and a force of some thousands of men was almost completely annihilated in a struggle that lasted above two months. Khelat-i-Ghilzye was about the same time invested, and the small garrison suffered cruelly, both from the enemy and from the severe cold, but still it continued to resist with extraordinary courage and success. They were, however, in great danger, and, if they were not relieved within a moderate interval, it seemed impossible that they could hold out.

---

[1] Kaye, *The War in Affghanistan*, vol. iii. pp. 154, 155.

From the south the news was of a still more alarming character. The authorities at Candahar had long been waiting with the extremest anxiety the arrival of a convoy from Sindh, which was to bring them reinforcements, together with fresh supplies, which were greatly needed, of treasure, ammunition, hospital stores, and other necessaries. As far back as February 11, Major Rawlinson had expressed himself as 'seriously alarmed' about money. 'A lakh,' he had said, 'is the utmost that I shall be able to raise from the Candahar merchants, and with the most rigid economy this will hardly last us to the end of March, the godowns at the same time being opened to supply the troops. It would seem therefore absolutely indispensable that the road should be opened from the south, either by Outram or ourselves.'[1] The end of March had now arrived, and there was no sign of the convoy. Brigadier England had been despatched from Sindh about the middle of February, and had reached Dadur towards the close of the month. While there he had received instructions to move on quickly through the Bolan Pass, to assemble as strong a body of troops as he could at Quetta, and thence to push on through the Khojuck with all possible despatch. He arrived at Quetta on March 16 and left it on March 26. His force consisted of five companies of the Queen's 41st Infantry, six companies of Bombay Native Infantry, a troop of the 3rd Bombay Cavalry, fifty men of the Poonah horse, and four Horse Artillery guns. On the 28th he reached the entrance of a defile leading to the village of Hykulzye, where he intended to await the remainder of the brigade, which was on its way through the Bolan to join him. General England had been warned that he might expect to meet the enemy at Hykulzye, but he advanced into the defile incautiously, and, endeavouring to force his way, met with failure. The troops employed to clear the hills on the right of the defile—some 500 in number—were completely repulsed by the Affghans, with the loss of nearly one-fifth of their number. The survivors were rallied by their officers and were eager to renew the attack, but General England refused, declaring that he had not men enough. He is said[1] to have greatly over-estimated the Affghan force, which he maintained to be a hundred times as strong as either he or anyone else had expected, whereas it was afterwards found that they had not exceeded 1,300, the exact amount which it had been supposed he would meet. He was also impressed with the idea that the defences were very formidable, whereas they are said to have consisted merely of a four-foot ditch filled with brushwood, and so weak that, when a month later the brigade advanced from Quetta, several of the officers rode over them without observing their existence.[2]

---

[1] Major Rawlinson's MS. Diary for February 11.

---

[1] Kaye, *The War in Affghanistan*, vol. iii. pp. 173–4.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 173.

Colonel Stacey, one of England's officers, offered to lead a second attack, with a hundred or even with eighty men, but the General declined. He thought it his duty to retire upon Quetta and await the reinforcements that were on their march. The retrograde movement was begun on March 30, and the division reached Quetta on the 31st.

The repulse and retreat of the relieving force was a bitter disappointment to the Candahar authorities. Its arrival had been anxiously expected for above six weeks; its progress had been watched with the keenest interest; its relinquishment of the enterprise entrusted to it raised a feeling almost of despair. The Candahar treasury was absolutely empty; the pay of the troops was four months in arrear; ammunition ran short; the hospital stores were exhausted. It seemed to the General in command that he was deserted and abandoned to his fate. 'It is now from four to five months,' he wrote to Brigadier England,[1] 'since the outbreak at Cabul, and in all that time no aid whatever has been given to me. I have continually called for cavalry, for ammunition, treasure, stores, and medicines for the sick. I have called loudly, but I have called in vain. Had the least aid been sent—even a regiment of cavalry—I could have tranquillised or subdued the country.' Major Rawlinson participated in these feelings, though he expressed them less bitterly. Both officers were thoroughly agreed that, unless a relieving force, with the required stores, were pushed forward to them from Quetta almost immediately, their position at Candahar would become untenable. The Dooranis had taken heart when they heard of the retirement of England's force to Quetta, and, regarding Candahar as abandoned to them, had again assumed the aggressive. Urgent representations were therefore made to General England, and he was required, before the 1st of May, to make a second attempt upon the Khojuck Pass, and, at whatever cost, to force his way through. It was promised him that at the same time a body of troops from Candahar should attack the northern end of the pass, so that the enemy would be between two fires, and unlikely to make a very strenuous resistance. The scheme was successfully carried out. Brigadier England moved out from Quetta on April 26, and on the 28th was before Hykulzye—the scene of his previous repulse. He found the enemy posted as before, and, attacking in three columns, drove them from their positions without the slightest difficulty. He then, on the 30th, advanced to the Khojuck. The Candahar troops under Colonel Wymer were already at the northern extremity. A simultaneous advance should have been made, but, for some unexplained reason, England halted his force almost immediately after he had entered the defile, and left the entire task of crowning the heights and clearing the pass to the Candahar detachment. Fortunately, his inactivity had no ill result. The enemy fled before the bayonets of Colonel Wymer's force, and the junction of the two brigades was effected. No further difficulties occurred: without any opposition the united detachments marched on to Candahar, and entered the city on the 10th of May.

---

[1] Letter of April 2nd. (See Kaye's *History of the War in Affghanistan*, vol. iii. p. 178.)

The difficulties with which Major Rawlinson and General Nott had so long had to contend, were thus, happily, removed, and a time of comparative tranquillity set in. The tribesmen, to a large extent, dispersed to their homes. A number of the chiefs made overtures for reconciliation, while some, with their followers, withdrew to their own districts. The fanaticism of the Ghazees had cooled down under the chilling blasts of ill-success. News arrived that General Pollock had forced the Khyber and effected a junction with Sir Robert Sale at Jellalabad, while Sir R. Sale had himself sallied forth from that fastness and inflicted a crushing defeat upon Akbar Khan. The British star was evidently once more in the ascendant, and, naturally enough, 'as the tidings of our successes spread through the country, the spirits of the insurgents became more and more depressed.'[1]

The forces, however, of Mirza Ahmed and Atta Mohammed still kept the field, and prevented the inhabitants of the districts around Candahar from settling down. Nott's foragers continued to be ruthlessly cut up by the followers of these two chieftains, and the precious stores, which they had collected, to be carried off. Mirza Ahmed was also systematically demanding and obtaining the revenue due to the local Government from the cultivators under a permit which he had managed to procure from Shah Soojah before the insurrection began. The Candahar treasury was thus greatly impoverished, and the resources on which the Resident counted for the support and sustentation of the Government, were employed against it. The hot temper of General Nott blazed up under these untoward circumstances, and he sent a proposal to his colleague, that a proclamation should at once be issued, cautioning the cultivators against any payment of revenue to the Mirza, and at the same time offering a reward to anyone who would bring in either Mirza Ahmed or Atta Mohammed to the British camp. 'I wish,' he said, 'a proclamation to be immediately issued, prohibiting any person paying revenue to Mirza Ahmed or to Sufder Jung, and making them to understand that, whatever sums they pay to these chiefs will be their own loss, as the regular revenue due to H.M. the Shah will be exacted from them by the authorities of Candahar. I will thank you in the proclamation to offer a reward of 5,000 rupees to any person who will bring in either Mirza Ahmed or Mohammed Atta. The sooner this is done the better. Let me see the draft of the proclamation before it is issued.'[1]

---

[1] Kaye's *History of the War in Affghanistan*, vol. iii. p. 183.

The following was Major Rawlinson's reply to this proposition:—After inquiring whether the General proposed to issue the proclamation in his own name, or in that of Prince Timour—the nominal Governor of the city—and suggesting that, in the latter case, it would be necessary that Prince Timour should be consulted, he went on to speak as follows of the proposed rewards:—

> Is the reward of 5,000 rupees, offered to anyone bringing in Mohammed Atta or Mirza Ahmed, to apply to those people dead or alive, or is it merely to be given in the event of any of the Affghans bringing them in as prisoners? I do not think the Prince would have any objection to issue the proclamation about revenue, and to signify to all his subjects that he has appointed Mirza Wulee Mohammed Khan to the management of this department, notwithstanding he is aware that papers of an exactly opposite tenor, issued by his father, are in Mirza Ahmed's hands; but I greatly doubt his acquiescing in the subject of the reward, as, whatever may be the secret feelings of Mohammedans

---

[1] MS. correspondence.

regarding betrayal or assassination, it is altogether repugnant to their habits to avow such objects in a public proclamation.[1]

Nott replied that *of course* he intended the proclamation concerning the revenue to be issued in the name of the Prince; but, he added—

> In regard to the reward for the apprehension of Mirza Ahmed, that is a different thing; and, if the Prince will not consent to include it in the proclamation regarding the revenue, where it ought to appear, I will issue a separate proclamation. Mirza Ahmed has murdered my camp-followers and Sepoys in the most cruel and atrocious manner; and it is my duty, merely as commander of the force, to offer a reward to any person who will bring him in. Mohammed Atta has, like a monster, murdered our officers in their houses, and cut to pieces our unarmed and inoffensive camp-followers. I will show no mercy to these men. My note said nothing about 'dead or alive,' and I thought clearly indicated bringing them in prisoners. Why you make use of the word 'assassination,' I know not, but I do know that it ought not to be used by Englishmen in any public document, and therefore it could never enter into my mind when speaking of a proclamation. Mirza Ahmed is collecting what he is pleased to call revenue, to enable him to raise men to attack the force under my command. Such plunder ought to be put a stop to.

Major Rawlinson responded:—

> I regret that the unguarded use of the ugly word 'assassination,' which, however, I only intended to convey the meaning which the Prince might put upon a general offer of reward for the persons of the proscribed chiefs, should have given you any offence; but I trust you will excuse me, if I make a few remarks upon the subject of the proposed proclamation. We

---

[1] MS. correspondence.

are accused, and perhaps suspected, of having lately suborned people to attempt the life of Mohammed Akbar Khan; and Captain Nicolson is known to have offered a high reward on one occasion for the head of the Gooroo; and it would be very difficult therefore, it appears to me, in our present proclamation, to get the Affghans to appreciate the difference between the offer of a reward for the betrayal of Mirza Ahmed and Mohammed Atta into our hands, to be executed by the Prince (as every one must know they would be) on their arrival at Candahar, and for anticipating this sentence by taking their lives on the spot, wherever a man might be found bold enough to attempt the deed. Now, if any misunderstanding on this subject existed, and we were believed by our proclamation to be aiming at the lives rather than at the liberty of Mirza Ahmed and Mohammed Atta, it would only be natural for them to retaliate, and, aided by religious enthusiasm, and with the voice of the country in their favour, they would be far more likely, I think, to succeed in bribing Ghazees to kill our officers, than we should be in tempting any of the Affghans to seize the persons of the proscribed individuals and hand them over to us for execution. I cannot help thinking also, that even supposing the proclamation to be expressly stated and understood to aim only at the liberty of the two heads of the Candahar rebellion, still it would operate to our detriment rather than to our advantage, and would tend greatly to increase the inveteracy of our present contest with the Affghans. It would, probably, be met by the kidnapping of our own officers at this place, and I suspect it would be fraught with danger to our unfortunate countrymen in confinement at Lughman, at Cabul, and at Ghuzni. Should you still, however, desire to make the attempt to obtain possession of the persons of Mirza Ahmed and Mohammed Atta, I shall be happy to render literally into Persian any draft of a proclamation which you will send me, and to give the proclamation all possible publicity.[1]

---

[1] MS. correspondence.

The arguments of the Resident prevailed with the Commandant, and no proclamation was issued.

It was now the middle of May. Pollock and Nott, each at the head of a fine force, and sufficiently supplied, were eager to advance upon Cabul, with the view of retrieving the honour of the British arms, tarnished in that quarter. But they felt that they must await the orders of the Supreme Government. A new Governor-General had arrived at Calcutta on February 28. What would his policy be? There were three possible courses —to maintain the occupation, and support it by largely reinforcing the occupying army; to withdraw from the country at once without making any further effort; and to prepare for an ultimate withdrawal, but, first of all, to redeem the honour of our arms by some bold forward movement, which should make it clear, both to the Affghans themselves, and to the world at large, that we were not driven from the country, but relinquished it of our own accord. On first taking up his Governor-Generalship, Lord Ellenborough seemed to incline to the last of these three policies. In a letter to the Commander-in Chief, dated March 15, he said:—

> Whatever course we may hereafter take must rest solely on military considerations; and hence, in the first instance, regard [must be had] to the safety of the detached bodies of our troops at Jellalabad, at Ghuzni, at Khelat-i-Ghilzye, and Candahar; to the security of our troops now in the field from all unnecessary risk; and finally to *the re-establishment of our military reputation by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow upon the Affghans, which may make it appear to them, and to our own subjects, and to our allies, that we have the power of inflicting punishment upon those who commit atrocities and violate their faith*, and that we withdraw ultimately from Affghanistan, not from any deficiency of

means to maintain our position, but because we are satisfied that the King we have set up has not, as we were erroneously led to imagine, the support of the nation over which he has been placed.[1]

But this phase of feeling soon passed, and was succeeded by a mere desire to withdraw the whole armed force at once. General Nott was written to in the following terms:—'You will evacuate the city of Candahar. . . . You will proceed to take up a position at Quetta, until the season may enable you to retire upon Sukkur. The object of the above-directed measure is to withdraw all our forces to Sukkur at the earliest opportunity at which the season and other circumstances may permit you to take up a new position there. The manner of effecting this now necessary object is, however, left to your discretion.'[2] These orders came upon the authorities at Candahar 'like a thunderbolt.' 'We had not,' says Major Rawlinson in his diary, 'from Lord Ellenborough's former letters, thought such a measure possible until Cabul should be retaken.' All preparations had been made for an advance. It had been intended that a strong column, under Colonels Wymer and Stacey, should move out of the city with forty days' supplies on or about May 19, should march northwards, relieve Khelat-i-Ghilzye, and halt there until joined by a reserve brigade under General Nott, when the combined forces should move in the direction of Cabul, thereby facilitating General Pollock's advance by the concentration of force at any rate, and, in the event of supplies being procurable, by actual physical co-operation. The Governor-General's orders put, for the time, a complete stoppage to this intended course of proceedings. Colonel Wymer was indeed sent out from Candahar on May 19, but with secret orders to destroy the fortifications of Khelat-i-Ghilzye and withdraw the garrison, while in all other respects the arrangements were altered or suspended. A letter of Major Rawlinson's to Sir J. Outram, dated May 18, will show the feelings of both the military and political authorities at this conjuncture.

---

[1] Governor-General in Council to Sir Jasper Nicholls, March 15, 1842.

[2] MS. correspondence. The Chief Secretary to Major-General Nott, April 19, 1842.

My dear Outram,—The peremptory order to retire has come upon us like a thunder-clap. No one at Candahar is aware of such an order having been received, except the General and myself; and we must observe a profound secrecy as long as possible. The withdrawal of the garrison from Khelat-i-Ghilzye, and the destruction of the fortifications at that place, must, I fancy, however, expose our policy, and our situation will then be one of considerable embarrassment. General Nott intends, I believe, to order all the carriage at Quetta to be sent on to Candahar. A regiment is to escort the camels laden with grain to Killah Abdoolah, where the troops will remain in charge of the depôt, and from whence a regiment, or two regiments, detached from this will bring on the camels empty to Candahar. It must be our object to collect carriage, on the pretext of an advance to Cabul; but how long the secret can be kept it is impossible to say. When our intended retirement is once known, we must expect to have the whole country up in arms, and to obtain no cattle except such as we can violently lay hands upon.

If the worst come to the worst, we must abandon all baggage and stores, and be content to march with sufficient food to convey us to Quetta, for which I believe the carriage now available will suffice.

It will be quite impossible to destroy the works of Candahar, as directed in the Government letter; the worst that can be done is to blow up the gateways. I have hardly yet had time to reflect fully upon the effects, immediate and prospective, of our abrupt departure. There is no man at present on whom I can cast my eyes in all Candahar as likely to succeed to power. Sufder Jung will be a mere puppet, of course, and will be liable to deposition at any moment. Should the Barukzyes triumph at Cabul, and should we no longer oppose the return of Kohundil, he will be the most likely chief to succeed; but the natural consequences of his return, and of our determined non-interference with the affairs in this quarter, will be, of course, to render Persian influence paramount at Herat and Candahar; and with the prospect of a Russian fleet at Asterabad, and a Persian army at Merv, it is by no means impossible that the designs which threatened us in 1838 may at last be directly accomplished. Strong measures of intimidation, both against Russia and Persia, will be our best protection.[1]

The orders of the Governor-General, however, could not be disputed, and Nott felt that, however reluctant, he must begin to carry them into effect without delay. Accordingly, on May 19, he despatched the brigade which he had intended for Ghuzni and Cabul to relieve Khelat-i-Ghilzye, and, if possible, bring off its garrison. This object was attained without difficulty. A desperate Ghilzye attack had been made upon the fortress on May 21, but it had been completely beaten off by the gallant defenders; and when, a few days later, Colonel Wymer, with his relieving brigade, arrived before the walls, not a foe was in sight, the Ghilzyes having dispersed to their homes. The garrison was thus quietly withdrawn, and the place was dismantled.

Nott's next duty was to make ready for the withdrawal of his entire army from Candahar by way of the

---

[1] MS. Correspondence. Major Rawlinson to Sir J. Outram, May 18, 1842.

Khojuck Pass and Quetta; and with this view he was preparing to send a detachment southwards to bring up the carriage collected for him in that quarter, when fresh aggressive movements on the part of the Dooranis detained him. Aktur Khan, one of the most formidable of the Affghan chiefs, after spending some months in alternate overtures to the Dooranis and the British, towards the end of May made up his mind, and threw in his lot wholly with the former. A serious attack evidently impended. 'The Ghazees moved down on the Arghandab, and made arrangements to concentrate their troops in the neighbourhood of Baba-Wulee. It seemed probable that they would be able to raise the neighbouring tribes against us, and bring into the field a body of 4,000 or 5,000 men.'[1] Nott halted the detachment which had been on the point of starting for the Khojuck, and prepared to meet the Doorani demonstration with a counter-attack *en force*, which, with his usual gallantry, he resolved to lead in person. Major Rawlinson was allowed to accompany him as an aide-de-camp.

It was the 29th of May. 'At about eight o'clock in the morning,' writes Major Rawlinson, 'small parties of the enemy's horse were to be seen hovering about the cantonments. They carried off a good number of donkeys, and gained a more important prize in Prince Timour's large elephant. Mahra Khan's party of Parsewans went out to watch them, supported shortly afterwards by Christie's horse. By ten o'clock the numbers of the enemy had considerably increased, and the Baba-Wulee Pass was seen to be occupied. The General now ordered Colonel Stacey, with the 42nd and 48th regiments and four guns, to move from the camp east of the city, and take up position near the cantonments, still thinking it probable that the Ghazees were merely reconnoitring, and would not venture to give us battle on this side of the pass. Some skirmishing took place as Colonel Stacey advanced beyond the cantonments; and when, finding the enemy in great numbers along the skirts of the hills, he fell back, to obey his orders and take up position, the Ghazees, imagining him to be on retreat to the city, pushed forward and took possession of the rocky heights west of the cantonments, from whence they opened a distant fire upon our line. The hillocks to the right were crowded with masses of horse, numbering apparently about 1,500; a crowd of footmen occupied the rocky heights in front of our line, and beyond, the shoulder of the Peer-Pace-Mal hill was covered with human beings thick as a flight of locusts; bodies of horse were also continually debouching round the shoulder, and pushing on to join their comrades on the right. The General, finding that everything now betokened a determination to fight, sent out eight more guns and her Majesty's 41st Regiment, and at one o'clock mounted, and went out to take the command. Immediately we reached the ground the light companies were ordered out to storm the heights, protected by the fire of the guns, and supported by the 43rd Regiment. The business was short, sharp, and decisive. About thirty of our men were wounded in the assault, but there was no sort of check, and we soon saw the forms of the Sepoys in full relief against the sky on the crest of the ridge. Chamberlain's horse now sweeping round, committed a heavy slaughter among the footmen, who were forced from their cover, and sent flying in disorder. At this time the General told me to take the Parsewan horse and clear the hillocks to the right of the detached parties which still held them—the main body of the enemy's horse having descended into the dip between the hillocks and the Baba-Wulee Pass—and Tait with his rissaleh was sent to support me. We drove the skirmishers easily off the hillocks, and pursued them nearly to the foot of the pass, from whence we turned off to the right to attack a party which had been cut off from this outlet, and whose only road for escape was the Kotul-i-Moonha, distant between three and four miles. The chase was hot, and the line of country difficult; and the party reached the pass some fifty yards ahead of us. Two men, however, were cut up in the pursuit; and from the top of the pass we also got a heavy fire upon them, by which we killed another man, and wounded several. I found afterwards that the leader of this party was no other than Mohammed Atta himself, whose capture or death would have been worth all our other successes.

---

[1] Kaye: *The War in Affghanistan*, vol. iii. p. 315.

'Whilst we were engaged in this business, one column of infantry and artillery, with Chamberlain's horse, moved up direct to the Baba-Wulee Pass, and another column swept round the shoulder of the hill to the left; but our movements were too slow to be productive of any great results. Could we have brought the guns to bear on the pass when it was jammed with the disordered masses of the enemy, the slaughter would have been great. As it was, the rebel force had crossed fairly into the Arghandab valley before our column appeared at the foot of the pass. They had barricaded the pass with a huge heap of stones, and had run up during the morning a strong breastwork extending down the shoulder of the Peer-Pace-Mal hill to the edge of the canals; and both these defences being in their rear instead of their front, somewhat impeded their retreat. I fancy, however, that not more than fifty or sixty men were killed in the pursuit. The enemy had intended to take up position within these defences, and it would no doubt have given us some trouble to force them, but their scouts having come on and reported that the cantonments were vacated, and that the country was clear up to the gates of the town, the chiefs fancied that our garrison was too weak to do more than defend the walls. They had accordingly proposed to fix their camp near the cantonments, and regularly invest us.

Their tents and baggage had been all brought across the Arghandab for this purpose, and, if we had promptly followed up our success, we might probably have taken a large booty in the repassage of the river. The General, however, drew off the troops from the Baba-Wulee Pass and the shoulder of the hill, and the Dooranis proceeded leisurely to pitch their camp on the skirt of the plain beyond the cultivation which lines the banks of the river. From the Kotul-i-Moonha I descended into the Arghandab valley, and swept down the course of the river, hoping to intercept fugitives. As the Dooranis, however, had all of them missed the Baba-Wulee, we met with no great success. I availed myself of the occasion to visit the holy man at Khangree, and I also succeeded in arresting that notorious Moossid, Moolah Khuja. The place was thronged with Ghazees at the time, but, under the influence of the panic, they were too glad to screen themselves from the observation of our horsemen. I returned with the horse to Candahar before sunset.' [1]

The day's fighting had resulted in the complete dispersal of the enemy's foot; but as a portion of their horse still maintained itself in the valley of the Arghandab, Nott determined to follow up his success of the 29th by a further attack upon the 30th, and sent out a brigade under Colonel Stacey, which Major Rawlinson accompanied with the entire Persian horse. The enemy was, however, disinclined to resist, and drew off as our troops advanced, crossing the Arghandab, and even beginning to send their baggage over the hills to the rear. The Dooranis had evidently lost all heart; some sent to ask for terms; others were for proceeding to Cabul and joining the rebels in that quarter; almost every chief had a different plan; the one point on which all were agreed being, that it was useless to contend with the British forces in the open field any longer. A strong indication of the prevailing despondency was given by the withdrawal of Prince Sufder Jung from the camp of the insurgents, and his return within the British lines on June 18. It is probable there would have been an absolute dispersion of the entire Doorani force, had not intelligence reached the chiefs by messengers from Hindustan, that the British were determined to withdraw altogether from Affghanistan, and that retrograde movements might be expected to begin very shortly.

---

[1] Major Rawlinson's MS. Diary for the year 1842.

The time had indeed arrived when General Nott felt that he had no longer any excuse for delaying to execute the orders which he had received from the Central Government, to retire upon India by way of Quetta and Sukkur. Ample carriage had been collected, and everything was in train for an immediate withdrawal, when, on July 20, a letter from the Governor-General reached the hands of the Commandant, which entirely changed his plan of operations, giving him the liberty he had so greatly longed for, and enabling him to strike a blow for the honour of England, which should deprive his retirement of all appearance of disgrace or defeat.

The letter (dated July 4) was to the effect, that General Nott must withdraw the British troops from Candahar to India without any further delay, but that he was at liberty to retire either by the route of Quetta and Sukkur, or by that of Ghuzni, Cabul, and Jellalabad. Nott's reply was as follows:—

> Having well considered the subject of your Lordship's letter of the 4th instant, having looked at the difficulties in every point of view, and reflected on the advantages which would attend a successful accomplishment of such a move, and the moral influence which it

would have throughout Asia, I have come to a determination to retire a portion of the army under my command *via* Ghuzni and Cabul.[1]

In coming to this decision, General Nott had the full support and sympathy of his political colleague, who, however, was at this time devoid of any political authority. Lord Ellenborough had, by a stroke of the pen, deprived the 'Politicals' of the powers entrusted to them, and vested the supreme civil, as well as the supreme military, authority in the Commandants. 'Nott, however,' as the historian of the Affghan War remarks, 'was not inclined to interfere in the political management of affairs, and Major Rawlinson continued to conduct them very much as he had done before the order was issued; but he referred all important questions to the General, who, for the most part, deferred to the opinions of his more experienced political associate.'[2]

The change of plan consequent upon Lord Ellenborough's letter of July 4, necessitated some further delay in the retirement of the troops from the Western Affghan capital. The army had to be divided. It had to be determined which portion should be sent home *via* Quetta and Sukkur, and which should take the route of Ghuzni, Cabul, and Jellalabad. It had to be decided who should command each portion. It had further to be settled who should be left in authority at Candahar—what should be done with the two princes, Timour and Sufder Jung, sons of Shah Soojah, who were living there under our protection—and what measures should be taken to secure a peaceable transfer of the municipal government and administration from the British to the native authority. Nott's decision was to take the command of the northern army himself, and to give the command of the southern one to General England. He took with him the 40th and 41st Queen's Infantry, the three Sepoy regiments which had fought so gallantly against the Dooranis, some squadrons of the 3rd Bombay Cavalry, Anderson's troop of Horse Artillery, Blood's Battery, Christie's Horse, and a few other cavalry details. To General England he assigned the Bombay Infantry, two companies of Bengal Artillery, three regiments belonging to the late Shah's force, and some details of the Irregular Horse. England was not very well satisfied, but he had to submit to his superior officer. The intended evacuation was then announced. It was decided to leave Sufder Jung as the supreme authority in the city, and to send Prince Timour to Hindustan with General England's detachment. A new municipality was organised. Then the fortifications were dismantled. The troops were seriously cautioned against committing any excesses; and, on the 7th of August, the British forces evacuated Candahar quietly, peaceably, in the most regular and orderly manner, without a shot being fired or an outrage committed.[1] Major Rawlinson accompanied General Nott's brigade, and having now lost his political functions, was attached by the General to his own person as his aide-de-camp.

---

[1] Kaye's *History of the War in Affghanistan*, vol. iii. p. 322.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 320, note.

---

[1] The following is an extract from Major Rawlinson's Diary for August 7, 1842:—'We have this evening evacuated Candahar in the most regular and orderly manner conceivable. There has been no indication of ill-will on the part of the citizens, no disposition on the part of the Sepoys to indulge in military license. Instead of the tumult, the confusion, the general excitement to which I used to look forward as inseparable from our evacuation of the capital of a province, where so many conflicting interests prevail, and where a large part of the military population has for so long a time been arrayed in arms against us, I have been agreeably disappointed in finding a profound tranquillity, and every appearance of a mutually good understanding.'

The march upon Cabul commenced on August 10, when the troops moved a distance of ten miles, from Candahar to Kila Azeem Khan. No enemy was encountered upon the way; and this peaceful condition of things continued until August 27, when 160 miles of the distance to be traversed had been accomplished, and the troops had reached the important position of Mookoor —the strongest between Candahar and Cabul. Here the appearance of things suddenly altered; the villages were deserted; no supplies were brought in; it was evident that a hostile district had been entered; and ere long it was ascertained that Shumshoodeen Khan, the re-taker of Ghuzni, had moved out of that place with 500 horse and two guns, had thrown all his energies into the work of raising the country between Mookoor and Ghuzni, and was determined to dispute the further advance of Nott's army. On August 28 the first actual collision took place. The enemy attacked, but was beaten back by Captain Christie with the irregular cavalry, and retired out of sight. The day's march was completed, and the camels were sent out to graze, and the foragers to cut grass, when a report, wholly unfounded, was brought into camp that the foragers were being cut to pieces by the enemy. Captain Delamain, who had sent them out, rode off at once with all the disposable cavalry to relieve them, found it a false alarm, but advanced rashly, and became entangled with some large masses of the enemy's horse and foot, who bore down upon his scanty squadrons with an effect which was tremendous. Two officers were killed within the space of a few minutes, and three others wounded. Fifty-six men were placed *hors de combat*. Nott saved a remnant of the horse by rapidly advancing, but the defeat was unmistakable;

and, as Major Rawlinson wrote to Sir James Outram, 'It was a bad beginning.'[1]

It was soon, however, at least partially, redeemed. On August 30, Nott, who was still pushing on towards Ghuzni, attacked a fort which threatened his line of march, and when Shumshoodeen Khan came to its relief, turned the attack upon him, advanced at a quick pace, and gave his troops the order to charge. When the gleaming line of bayonets approached, the Affghan troops shrank from the encounter, turned, fled, and dispersed. One of their guns broke down, and was immediately captured. Christie's horse pursued and carried off the other. All Shumshoodeen's magazines and stores were scattered about the plain over which he fled, and recklessly abandoned. He himself fell back upon Ghuzni; while the tribes who had gathered to his standard hurried in panic flight to their respective homes.

Nott was now drawing very near to Ghuzni, where, if anywhere, the enemy was likely to make a determined stand. On September 5 he arrived in front of the fortress, which he found defended by a garrison of no great strength, but also protected by a powerful covering force under Shumshoodeen, who had been largely reinforced from Cabul. These troops crowned the hills, especially those to the north-east of the stronghold. The gay attire and the fine chargers of the chiefs made them conspicuous even at a distance. The gardens, the ravines, and the water-courses outside the town were swarming with matchlock men, and there was a fairly large armed force within the walls. General Nott could not encamp in safety until he had cleared the heights, which the troops under his command did with great gallantry before the camp was pitched. Even then it was found that the position chosen was too near the town, since it was commanded by one of the Ghuzni guns, a piece of large calibre, known as the 'Zubber Jung,' fourteen shots from which fell within the camp, but fortunately without doing any mischief. The tents, however, had to be struck, and the camp shifted to the village of Roza, distant about two miles from the city. It was intended to assault the town on the morrow, and the engineers were occupied during the whole of the night in constructing batteries from which to breach the walls. A good defence might have been made, for the Affghan force in and about the place seems to have been not less than 5,000 men; but the tribes had recently lost heart. Their cavalry could not act within walls, and their infantry were unwilling to stand a prolonged siege. In the course of the night, the whole garrison silently withdrew; and when morning came, the engineers, whose suspicions had been aroused by the silence, found the gates open and the city abandoned. The vicinity of the city was also wholly deserted by the rebels. Shumshoodeen, with a small body of horse, had fled to Cabul, and the remainder had dispersed to their homes.

---

[1] Letter of September 7, 1842.

The enemy's guns, which it was impossible to carry off, were destroyed. Mines were exploded in various places under the walls, and finally both the town and citadel were set on fire. 'The woodwork soon ignited, and all through the night the flames of the burning fortress lit up the overhanging sky.' [1]

It remained to carry out an object on which the Governor-General had set his heart. The village of

---

[1] Kaye's *War in Affghanistan*, vol. iii. p. 335.

Roza contained the tomb of a former Affghan king—Sultan Mahmoud of Ghuzni; and this tomb was closed by gates, which he was believed to have carried off from the Indian Temple of Somnauth, as a trophy and a memorial of his victories. Lord Ellenborough had especially enjoined upon General Nott to despoil the tomb of these gates, and to convey them carefully to India. 'You will bring away,' he wrote, 'from the tomb of Mahmoud of Ghuzni his club, which hangs over it; and you will bring away the gates of his tomb, which are the gates of the Temple of Somnauth.' On examining the inscriptions on Sultan Mahmoud's tomb, Major Rawlinson found pretty clear evidence that the gates were not those of Somnauth; but, as the Governor-General's orders were imperative, and the effect would be the same, whether the gates were genuine or were only believed to be genuine, their removal was determined on. 'The work was performed by Europeans, and all possible delicacy was observed in not desecrating the shrine further than was absolutely necessary. The guardians of the tomb wept bitterly, but the sensation was less than might have been expected.'[1] No fanaticism was aroused; and even the guardians themselves allowed that the conquerors were acting within their rights, only they asked: 'Of what value can these old timbers be to you?' The reply was: 'The gates are the property of India—taken from it by one conqueror, they are restored to it by another. We leave the shrine undesecrated, and only take our own.'[2]

The march to Cabul was resumed upon September 10. For some days the enemy offered no opposition, but on the 14th, near Mydan, they assumed a menacing attitude, and had to be attacked by our troops. The fight was indecisive, and further conflict was anticipated for the next day; but in the night news of the defeat of Akbar Khan, and the advance of Pollock, reached the Affghans, and they fell back. Nott advanced on the 15th, and fighting his way, passed Urghundeh on the 16th, and on the 17th approached Cabul and pitched his camp at the distance of some four or five miles from the city. Pollock had, however, anticipated him. He had reached the capital two days previously, after having inflicted a complete defeat on Akbar Khan, and on the 16th had planted the British flag on the highest point of the Balla Hissar.

---

[1] Major Rawlinson's MS. Diary for September 8, 1842. [2] *Ibid.*

The first communication between the two forces thus happily concentrated was effected by Major Rawlinson. On September 16, having arrived at Urghundeh, and received information of General Pollock's vicinity, he proposed to Nott that he should ride off to Pollock's camp, and have an interview with him on the general position of affairs. Nott consented, and Major Rawlinson immediately put on an Affghan dress, and, escorted by a body of Parsewan horse, rode in through the town to the race-course, where he found Pollock's army encamped, and had a long conversation with its commander. On the following day he returned to the Candahar force, with a letter from Pollock to Nott, in which he communicated his views on the situation to his brother general.

Major Rawlinson's participation in the 'Great Affghan War' terminated with this service. He had now no longer any official position, and would have no further duties to discharge, unless there should be battles to fight on the return march to India by Jellalabad and the Khyber. As it happened, there were no such battles, the tribes being content with a mere guerilla warfare. Major Rawlinson, quitting Cabul on October 12, reached Jugdulluk on October 18, Jellalabad on October 25, the Khyber on November 3, Attock on November 12, and Ferozepoor on December 1.

CHAPTER VII

TROUBLE RESPECTING CANDAHAR ACCOUNTS—ILLNESS—DIFFICULTIES SURMOUNTED—MEETING WITH LORD ELLENBOROUGH—LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S OFFERS—ACCEPTS THE RESIDENCY AT BAGHDAD.

Arrived once more in India, unencumbered by political appointment, Major Rawlinson would naturally have returned to the dull routine of regimental work, whereof he had became so weary in the autumn and early winter of 1839, but an untoward circumstance gave him still more wearisome employment of another kind. On quitting Candahar he had been forced, by the peremptory order of General Nott, to part from all his heavy baggage, including his voluminous accounts, and to send it to India with the baggage of General England's force by the way of Quetta and Sukkur. His assistant, Lieutenant Jackson, had the charge of the precious documents, which comprised among them vouchers for the expenditure of well nigh a million of our money. By a most unfortunate accident, the vessel containing all these books and bills and vouchers took fire, and was completely burnt as it descended the Sutlej. Major Rawlinson was left without a scrap of paper to show how the large sum for which he was responsible had been expended. Yet he was sternly required to send in full and exact accounts, just as if no accident had happened. The blow was almost overwhelming. Major Rawlinson wrote to us at home that he was a ruined man, since to send in the accounts demanded of him was impossible. But he did not allow his despondency to paralyse him. He took a house at Agra, and, bracing himself to his tiresome and uncongenial task, he set to work to reconstruct his accounts, and to obtain duplicate vouchers for all the various items of expenditure. By a prodigious effort of memory he recalled the names and addresses of all those to whom he had made disbursements, and, explaining to them how he was circumstanced, requested as a favour that they would send him duplicate vouchers. In no case was he met with a refusal. Sometimes there was great difficulty in communicating with the individual addressed, who had changed his place of abode, and whom it was hard to trace; but such were the relations of friendly feeling and good-will which he had established with the Candaharis, that, after six months' hard work, he was able to finish off the business. In the course of it he had, as might have been anticipated, a severe attack of brain fever; but, recovering from this, he succeeded, towards the close of March 1843, in presenting to the financial authorities such an account of his receipts and expenditure, in the capacity of British Resident at Candahar, as caused him to be specially complimented by the Government of India for his exactness and accuracy.

The result was a great satisfaction to him; but there remained one other point connected with his Candahar appointment, which he felt as a grievance, and as an undeserved piece of ill-treatment. He had held the appointment and discharged the duties of 'Political Agent at Candahar' for the space of nearly three years, and had certainly not been among the least distinguished of the 'Politicals' employed by the Government; he had accompanied the forces of Generals Nott and Pollock on the march back to India still in a political capacity, but, while every other political agent employed in a similar way had received honorary reward at the close of the campaign, he alone had been entirely passed over. The slight was so manifest and so undeserved, that General Nott, before parting from him at Lucknow in 1843, was induced to write him the following letter:—

Lucknow, July 18, 1843.

Dear Rawlinson,—I cannot allow you to leave for England without expressing to you the disappointment I felt on finding that your name was not included in the list of officers who received marks of her Majesty's favour for services in Affghanistan. I certainly expected that you would have been a C.B. You were honourably mentioned in my despatches after the following battles—Kaleeshuh, January 12, 1841; Candahar Cantonments, May 29; defence of Candahar, March 10; Battle of Ghoni, August 30. You were with me in the field at the battle of Ghuzni, and at the capture of that city, and at the hard fighting during the march from Ghuzni to Cabul, and thence to the banks of the Sutlej. I was always pleased with your zeal and gallantry, and, as I have said, I deeply regret that you were not equally honoured and rewarded with those who had done less in the service of their country. However, as you are now going to Old England, I trust you will yet succeed. I shall always be ready to certify to your deserving reward. Wishing you every happiness,

I am, yours truly,

W. Nott.

As his intention to visit England was given up, Major Rawlinson transmitted this document, with the following letter, to Colonel Durand, Lord Ellenborough's military secretary:—

My dear Durand,—I shall be very much obliged if you will take any opportunity that may offer to show the enclosed to Lord Ellenborough.

As I am the only single Political Agent with the forces of Generals Nott and Pollock who did not receive honorary reward at the conclusion of the Affghan campaign, I intended on reaching England to have brought my case personally to the notice of the proper authorities, and I thought that the enclosed handsome testimony to my services gave me a fair prospect of success. You are probably aware, however, that my views are now changed, and that his Lordship having most kindly offered me employment, I am not going home. Under these circumstances will it, think you, be asking too great a favour to solicit his Lordship to enclose the note to the Horse Guards, or would you recommend me to send it in officially through Somerset? Even supposing no immediate good resulted, it would at any rate be desirable to have such a document on record at the Horse Guards, and I am therefore most anxious to get the note submitted in some way or other to the Great Duke. Pray let me know what his Lordship says when you show him the note, and believe me yours very truly,

H. C. Rawlinson.

Colonel Durand's reply does not appear among my brother's papers, but the application made to him seems to have been successful. On February 22, 1844—seven months later—the coveted distinction was conferred, and Major Rawlinson, then at Baghdad, received information of his appointment to be a C.B., the badge and insignia of the order being shortly afterwards sent out to him.

To recruit his health, shaken by the fever from which he had suffered, Major Rawlinson was contemplating, in the early summer of 1843, a return to England on the furlough to which he was entitled, when another fortuitous circumstance—this time a happy one—interfered with his plans, and determined to a large extent the character of his future career. He had taken his place from Allahabad to Calcutta by a steamer on the Ganges, when he found Lord Ellenborough, to whom he was not yet personally known, among his fellow-passengers. An acquaintance necessarily followed, and upon the acquaintance an intimacy. The Governor-General, after the first day or two, insisted on having his companionship all day long and every day. Every Indian problem, every topic of interest connected with the condition of the East, and most of the knotty points of European politics, were discussed between them. Each seemed magnetically attracted by the other, and before the voyage was over, the Governor-General, having (so far as Major Rawlinson was concerned) completely got over his prejudice against 'Politicals,' offered him any appointment in his gift that his rank would allow him to hold, which might be found to be vacant when they reached the seat of Government. On their arrival, the highest of such appointments proved to be the 'Residency at Nepaul,' or 'Central India Agency,' and this was at once placed at Major Rawlinson's disposal; but he was somewhat weary of governing half-civilised Orientals, and longed to get back to those linguistic and archæological investigations which had engaged his attention and fascinated his imagination when he was in Persia during the years 1833–39. It happened that the 'Political Agency in Turkish Arabia' was also among the posts vacant, or just about to be vacant; and this was a post which the student-soldier had long coveted. It was not a position of so much dignity as the 'Nepaulese Agency,' nor of so much emolument; but it would take him back to the near neighbourhood of those mysterious inscriptions which he longed to decipher and interpret; it would enable him to resume an interrupted study, and complete a half-accomplished work; it would give him a sufficient income, very light political duties, and ample leisure to devote to those occupations in which during his past life he had found the greatest pleasure and the greatest and most solid satisfaction. He therefore declined the Nepaulese post which was offered him, and expressed to Lord Ellenborough his strong desire to return to the scene of his former labours, and resume his cuneiform investigations. His Lordship made no difficulty about granting the modest request, and in October 1843, Major Rawlinson received at his hands the formal appointment of 'British Political Agent in Turkish Arabia,' in succession to Colonel Taylor.

The acceptance of the appointment involved an almost immediate journey. Crossing India by dawk to Bombay, Major Rawlinson, late in November, embarked on board the *Clio* steamer (Captain Fitz-James) and was conveyed through the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf to Bussorah; whence another steamer, the *Nitocris*, carried him to Baghdad, where he arrived on December 6. The subjoined extract from his Journal will show the manner of his reception and the nature of his official duties:—

December 6.—Arrived at Baghdad, and landed under a salute of thirteen guns from the steamer, which was returned by the Pasha. The Pasha sent Behir Beg to Gerrara, with kavasses, &c., to congratulate me, and another officer waited upon me at the Residency with similar compliments. The French Consul-General also paid me a visit of ceremony; and all the Christian merchants connected with the British Agency were likewise introduced.

December 7.—I was visited to-day by the Persian Consul, by Mirza H., the Akbal-ed-Dowlah, and some other Christian merchants, whom I omittted to see yesterday. The English post arrived from Damascus, with little or no news, however. I presented my credentials to the Pasha.

December 8, *Friday.*—Arranged with the Pasha that I should visit him to-morrow. Communicated to the Kaliya Mr. Hester's application for a paper confirming the appointment of his overseer to the farm which he possesses on the Khaliss. Received trays of sweetmeats and complimentary messages from the Nawab-i-Hajerah, Aghu Khan's mother, and Mirza H. Was visited by the Walee and Mahmoud Meerzah.

It will be seen that there was not much to divert his attention from the studies which had formed his attraction to the place, and which he was now bent on pursuing with the utmost possible zeal and diligence.

CHAPTER VIII

FIRST RESIDENCE AT BAGHDAD (1844–49)—CUNEIFORM STUDIES—FIRST CUNEIFORM MEMOIR—STUDIES FOR SECOND MEMOIR—CONTACT WITH LAYARD—FINAL VISIT TO BEHISTUN—RETURN TO ENGLAND.

The first half of the year 1844 was passed by Major Rawlinson in a quietude to which he had long been unaccustomed, and which, after the turmoil and troubles of his Candahar appointment, was exceedingly grateful to him. He had simply to form acquaintance with the new community wherein his lot was cast, to settle himself comfortably in the 'Residency' permanently assigned to the British Political Agent in Turkish Arabia, and to arrange a system for the details of his public and private business such as might seem to him most convenient. The 'Residency' was a house built on a grand scale, with large and numerous apartments, necessitating an enormous staff of servants, cooks, grooms, stable-boys, attendants of all kinds, coffee-grinders, pipe-fillers, &c., &c. Considerable state had to be kept up, numerous entertainments given, a multitude of visits paid, and a guard of honour turned out to accompany the Resident whenever he went beyond the walls. There were also frequent despatches to be written, both to Sir Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, and to the Indian Government. The Pasha, moreover, required to be continually interviewed, since all persons under British protection, who had any complaint to make against either the authorities or Turkish subjects, preferred complaining through the 'Resident.'

These somewhat dull matters of routine occupied, especially at first, a considerable portion of Major Rawlinson's time and attention; but, even from the first, he managed to reserve a share of both for the studies which so greatly interested him. Writing of this time a few years later, he says:—

> Years rolled on, and, in December 1843, I found myself again at Baghdad. The interest in the inscriptions with which my original researches had inspired me had never flagged; it was sharpened perhaps by the accidents that had so long operated to delay its gratification; and I thus hastened, with eager satisfaction, to profit by the first interval of relaxation that I had enjoyed for many years, to resume the thread of the inquiry. Mr. Westergaard, well-known for his contributions to Sanskrit literature, who had been travelling in Persia during the year 1843, for the express purpose of collecting palæographic and antiquarian materials, supplied me at this period, in the most liberal manner, with several new inscriptions which he had copied at Persepolis.[1] The inscription on the portal close to the great staircase, which had escaped all former visitors, was of much value; equally so were the corrections of Niebuhr's Inscriptions I. and II., and the restoration of all the minor tablets upon the platform; but the gem of his collection, the most important record in fact of the class which exists in Persia, with the exception of the tablets of Behistun, I found to be the long inscription at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, engraved on the rock-hewn sepulchre of Darius. This inscription was no less remarkable for its extent and

---

[1] The letter containing these inscriptions is still in existence, though in a very ragged condition. It is dated October 13, 1843, and appears to have been begun at Julfa and finished at Teheran.

interest than for the correctness of its delineation. I could not but observe, indeed, that Mr. Westergaard's copy, defective as it necessarily was, both from the abrasion of the rock and from the difficulty of tracing letters through a telescope at so great an elevation, still indicated, in its superiority over all the specimens of Niebuhr, Le Brun, Porter, and Rich, the immense advantage which a transcriber acquainted with the character and language enjoys over one who can only depend for the fidelity of his copy on the imitative accuracy of an artist.[1]

M. Westergaard was accompanied at this time by M. Dittel, a Russian Orientalist, who had been his coadjutor at Persepolis; and this *savant* kindly supplied Major Rawlinson with the Median (or Scythic) version of the Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription, thus further stimulating him in the pursuit of his favourite studies, and assisting him to push them to a successful issue. To both of these scholars, but especially to M. Westergaard, Major Rawlinson always expressed himself as under considerable obligations.

It scarcely, perhaps, needed the stimulus of MM. Dittel and Westergaard's discoveries to cause Major Rawlinson to assume once more the *rôle* of an explorer, and to start for Behistun in the early summer of 1844, bent on extorting from the reluctant rock something more nearly approaching to a full account, than it had as yet given, of the treasures that were in its keeping. Mr. Hester and Captain Jones, R.N., accompanied him on this expedition.

The journey to Behistun was made by way of Kirmanshah without misadventure. Persia recognised in the explorer an old friend, and gave him a kindly greeting. At every turn he met with old acquaintances. The special object which he had in view on this occasion was to supplement his labours during his former visits in the years 1836 and 1837, by obtaining a complete transcript of the entire *Persian* inscription, or rather inscriptions, for besides the main engraving there are several small detached tablets; and to carry through the work in the most careful possible way. He was less concerned about the other versions—the Babylonian and the so-called 'Median'—but intended to pay them such attention as circumstances would allow. He knew the locality, and was therefore well aware that his task would be a difficult one, owing to the great height of the inscriptions (three hundred feet) above the level of the plain, and the precipitous character of the ascent to them. To climb the rock in order to arrive at the point where the engraving of characters upon the stone begins, is not indeed to be regarded as a dangerous feat, if the climber is a tolerably well-trained mountaineer; but it is trying both to the nerves and to the muscles of an ordinary traveller. These difficulties were, however, in the main overcome, and by dint of a week's continuous work, the whole of the Persian, and the whole of the so-called Median, writing was successfully transcribed, as also were the whole of the detached Babylonian epigraphs. The Babylonian version of the Great Inscription was found to be absolutely inaccessible with the means at the explorer's disposal. It was therefore left unattempted, to await the time when a more nimble-footed cragsman, or a better climbing apparatus, should be brought against it.

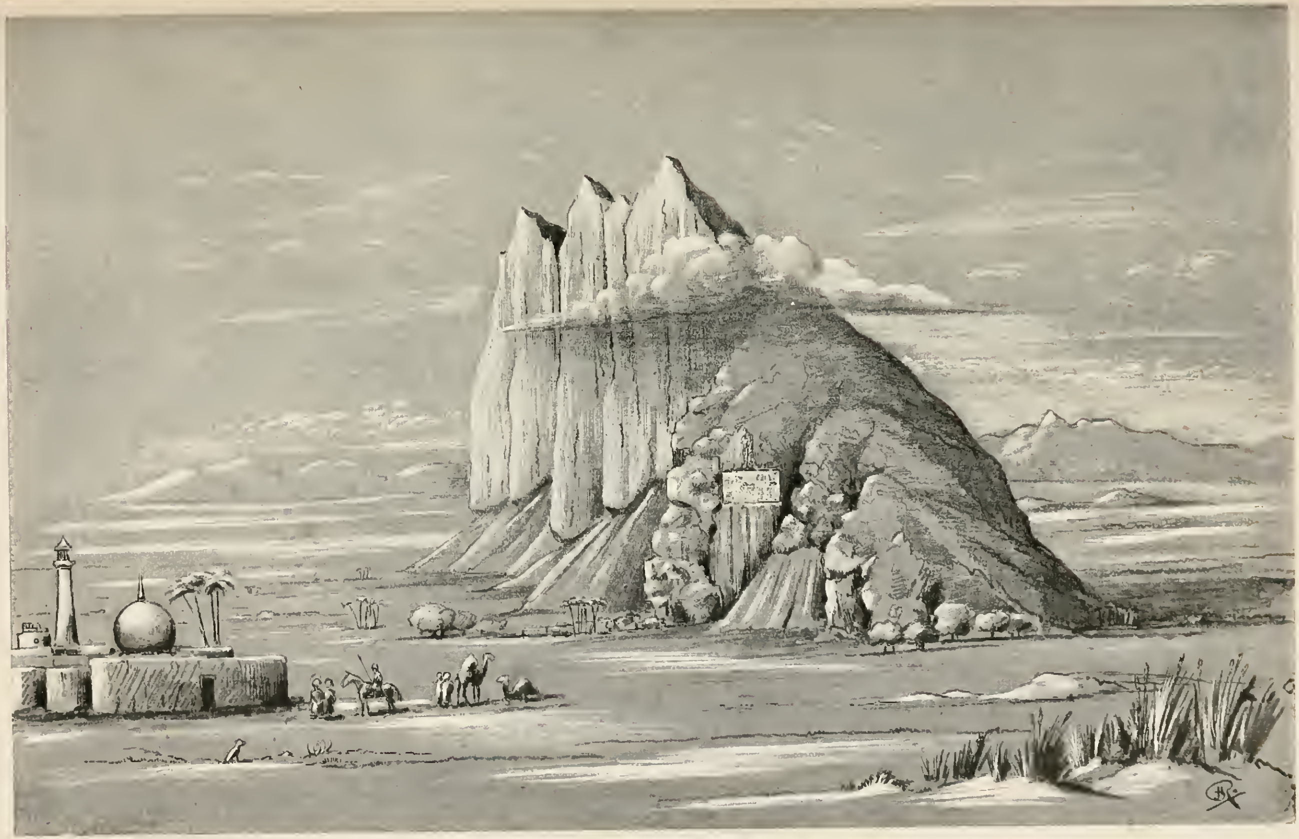
---

[1] 'Memoir on the Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun,' by Major H. C. Rawlinson, C.B., in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, vol. x. pp. 14, 15.

Several very curious discoveries were made during the close inspection to which the entire rocky surface was necessarily subjected. In the first place it was seen that the entire surface had been carefully smoothed preparatory to the engraving of the inscriptions on it; and when any portion proved to be unsound, it had been cut away, and fragments of a better quality, imbedded in molten lead, had been inserted, with a neatness and precision that rendered a very careful scrubbing necessary in order to detect the artifice. Again, holes and fissures which perforated the rock had been filled up with good material; and a polish had been given to the whole structure which could only have been accomplished by mechanical means. Further, it was evident to those who, in company with Major Rawlinson, scrutinised the execution of the work, that, after the engraving of the rock had been accomplished, a coating of silicious varnish had been laid on, to give a clearness of outline to each individual letter, and to protect the surface from the action of the elements. The varnish was of infinitely greater hardness than the limestone beneath it. It had been washed down in several places by the trickling of water for three-and-twenty centuries; and it lay in flakes upon the foot-ledge like thin layers of lava. It adhered in some portions of the tablets to the broken surface, and still showed with sufficient distinctness the forms of the characters, although the rock beneath was entirely honeycombed and destroyed. It was only indeed in great fissures, caused by the out-bursting of natural springs, and in the lower part of the smoothed surface, where artificial mutilation is suspected, that the varnish had entirely disappeared.[1]

---

[1] Major Rawlinson, in his 'Memoir on the Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun,' published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. x. p. 193.



THE ROCK OF BEHISTUN, SHOWING THE GREAT TRILINGUAL INSCRIPTION

The inaccessibility of the sculptures and inscriptions was apparently intentional. Though the iconoclasm of Islam can scarcely have been anticipated, yet the barbarous habit of Egyptian monarchs to deface or obliterate the monuments of their predecessors may have been known, or possibly a mere natural instinct may have suggested to the author of the monument that he was provoking the jealousy of later ages—at any rate, it is clear that great pains were taken to ensure the isolation of the work and make a near approach to it a matter of difficulty. A scaffolding must unquestionably have been erected for the convenience of the workmen employed in its execution; and, when their task was accomplished, this was no doubt removed. Excepting by means of ladders, the sculptures would then have been absolutely inaccessible, unless there were secret staircases, known to the guardians, of which there is at present no appearance.

After a week's stay in the immediate vicinity of this extraordinary and most elaborate monument, the travellers set out on their return. It was not thought desirable, however, to retrace their steps. Throughout his life, Major Rawlinson took every opportunity that presented itself to him of advancing geographical knowledge; and learning that there was a route from Kermanshah to Baghdad, previously unexplored by Europeans, through Zagros, and then along the course of the Diyalah, he determined on pursuing it. In the course of this journey he discovered and copied the famous Sassanian inscription of Pai Kuli, which was published by Edwin Thomas in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' from his note-book.

The materials brought from Behistun kept Major Rawlinson fully employed during all the leisure time that he had at his disposal during the year 1845. These materials were so superior to those previously in his possession, that he felt himself under the necessity of entirely re-writing the 'Memoir on the Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun,' which he had commenced as early as 1836, and concluded in a first rough form in 1839. The labour of transcribing with exactness, so as to meet the requirements of the engraver, more than four hundred long lines of closely packed cuneiform writing, was considerable, and the task of re-writing the 'Memoir,' which had extended to 541 pages, was also no light one. The time that could be devoted to the task was not many hours a day, and unremitting assiduity was absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of the work within the space that a learned Society could be expected to employ their printer upon it. This to a sportsman, and one accustomed to pass the greater portion of every day in the open air, involved no small sacrifice; and the heaviness of the task was increased by the height of the temperature, which in Baghdad varies between about 90 and 120 degrees of Fahrenheit. The rate of 90 degrees could only be maintained during the summer heats by the action of a water-wheel, turned by the Tigris, which poured a continuous stream of Tigris water over the roof of a summer house, built at the extreme end of the Residency garden and over-hanging the river. In this apartment, while at Baghdad, Major Rawlinson wrote the great bulk of his despatches, his letters, and his Memoirs.

For recreation, he indulged in the petting and taming of wild animals. He had a mongoose, which roamed all over his house, and made itself useful by the destruction of snakes and vermin. He had also for many years a tame leopard, named Fahad, which he ultimately brought to England, and presented to the Zoological Gardens at Clifton, near Bristol. When in England he would often visit the Gardens for the especial purpose of seeing and talking to Fahad. Entering the room of the greater *carnivoræ*, 'Fahad, Fahad,' he would cry; and the faithful beast would rise from the floor of its cage, and come slowly towards the voice, with pricked ears and pleased countenance, and then roll on the floor, and approach his head to the bars to be scratched. Once, as Major Rawlinson was patting and rubbing his head, the keeper rushed in, and exclaimed in great alarm, 'Sir, sir, what are you doing? Take your hand out of the cage. The animal's very savage, and will bite you!' 'Do you think so?' said the Major. 'No, I don't think he'll bite *me*. Will you, Fahad?' And the beast answered by a loud purr, and would scarcely let the hand be withdrawn. Another of my brother's favourites at Baghdad was a pet lion. The creature had been found in a bed of rushes and flags near the Tigris, when a mere kitten, its mother having been shot, and had been brought to the Residency, where Major Rawlinson had given a few *tomauns* for it. To tame it, and attach it to himself, he gave his household strict orders that no one but himself should ever feed it; and sometimes, when he was feeding it, he would make a servant approach and make a show of taking the food away, when he would rise to his feet, scold the servant loudly, and knock him down, or chase him out of the room. He would then bring the beast back his food, make him eat it out of his hand, pat his head, and find him a cool place to lie down in. The lion would follow him about, all over his house and garden, like a dog, and was never altogether happy unless he could be with him. But the poor creature had not a long life. In one very hot season he became manifestly unwell, moped, and rejected his food. As a matter of course he was in his master's room, where he paced wearily about, or lay down and groaned. His master, who was very busy writing despatches for the evening's post, finding himself disturbed by the sounds and movements, summoned a couple of servants, and said, 'Take the lion away!' They tried their best; but the lion would not go. He retreated nearer and nearer to his master's chair, and at last sat down under it with his head between his master's knees. When the servants pulled at him to drag him out, he growled at them and showed his teeth. 'Oh!' said my brother, 'if he won't go, let him bide.' The attendants departed; Major Rawlinson was absorbed in his despatches; the lion by degrees sank from a sitting position into that of a 'lion couchant'; all was quiet for some hours, save the scratching of a pen; then, his work over, Major Rawlinson put down his hand to pat his favourite; but his hand fell on a stiff form—the lion was dead.

Major Rawlinson also during this year (1845), in view of his position as British Resident in Turkish Arabia, and also in the prospect of coming Babylonian decipherment, commenced the serious study of Arabic, quite necessary to all who would thoroughly master any one of the Semitic tongues. He likewise made excursions into the Jezireh, or tract between the two great rivers, which increased his geographical knowledge, and much facilitated his subsequent researches into Babylonian topography.

The year 1846 was mainly occupied by putting final touches to the Persian 'Memoir,' and by despatching it in fragments to England, to the care of the Royal Asiatic Society, in whose 'Journal' it was printed in the course of the two or three ensuing years, forming the whole of vol. x. (published in 1846, 1847) and the first part of vol. xi. (published in 1849). This work being once out of his hands, Major Rawlinson, according to his own statement, 'took in hand Babylonian decipherment'—a task of much greater difficulty, and proceeded to devote for some years almost the whole of his literary energy to this attractive field, which the researches of Henry Austin Layard at Nineveh and other Assyrian sites were continually investing with greater and greater interest. Layard had come out from Constantinople to Turkish Arabia in 1845, with a *firman* of an unusually wide and liberal character,[1] obtained for him from the Sultan by the influence of Sir Stratford Canning, and had soon made himself famous by the remarkable results of his excavations. These passed in every case through Major Rawlinson's hands on their way to England, since they were floated on rafts down the Tigris to Baghdad, and there reshipped for the voyage round the Cape to London. In the year 1846, about February or March, Layard himself made the journey from Mosul to Baghdad; and the two discoverers had the pleasure of meeting and making each other's personal acquaintance. Layard was a man excellently fitted for the work of an explorer and excavator, strong, robust, determined, able to exert a powerful influence over Orientals, and calculated to compel obedience from them; active, energetic, and inured to hardship by his previous travels in wild regions. He was also familiar with Arabic and Turkish, and clever at catching up dialects. But he was not a scholar, or a man of any great culture, or of any wide reading. Probably no better pioneer could have been found for the rough work then needed in the East; and it was a happy chance which brought together two such men as him and Major Rawlinson as labourers at the same time and in the same field, but with each his own special task—each strongest where the other was weakest—Layard, the excavator, the effective task-master, the hard-working and judicious gatherer together of materials; and Rawlinson, the classical scholar, the linguist, the diligent student of history, the man at once of wide reading and keen insight, the cool, dispassionate investigator and weigher of evidence. The two men mutually esteemed and respected each other; were ready to assist each other to the utmost of their power; and, if occasionally they clashed in opinion, and maintained opposing views on subjects of antiquarian research, their differences led on to no rancour or jealousy, but rather to an increasing regard as time went on. Layard had undoubtedly sometimes to be corrected by his more scholarly contemporary; but his feelings are probably well described by his friend and whilom 'chief,' Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who thus expresses himself in a letter to Major Rawlinson, dated February 22, 1854:—

---

[1] 'The vizierial order,' says Mr. Layard, 'was as comprehensive as could be desired; and, having been granted on the departure of the British Ambassador, was the highest testimony the Turkish Government could give of their respect for the character of Sir Stratford Canning, and of their appreciation of the eminent services he had rendered them.'—*Nineveh and its Remains*, chap. v. p. 47.

I have read with much interest and pleasure your account of the new discoveries, though in some respects they seem to bear rather hard on our friend Layard and his notions. In matters of antiquity, as in others, truth is the essential matter; and though it may be supposed Mr. Layard would have had more pleasure in finding it on his side, I am confident that, with the whole world of literary and antiquarian research, he will be grateful to you for establishing it on any side in a clear and unmistakable light. [1]

In one respect Major Rawlinson was unfortunate in his endeavours to render Mr. Layard some help on the occasion of his first visit to the ruins of Nineveh. Knowing that the Euphrates steamer, one of the two vessels originally launched on the Mesopotamian rivers, had some years previously succeeded in reaching the tomb of Sultan Abdallah, a few miles below Nimrud, he offered to send the small steamer, which he had at his disposal for navigating the lower Tigris, up the river as far, if possible, as Nimrud, to assist in the conveyance of Mr. Layard's sculptures and other antiquities from that site to Baghdad or Bussorah. For this help Mr. Layard had waited impatiently through the summer of 1846; but, when autumn arrived, and an attempt was made to carry the scheme into execution, it was found that the machinery of Major Rawlinson's steamer, the *Nitocris*, was either too much out of repair, or not sufficiently powerful to impel the vessel over the rapids which occur in certain parts of the stream. After ascending some miles above Tekrit, the attempt had to be given up, and the *Nitocris* returned to Baghdad, *re infecta*.[2]

Meanwhile, Major Rawlinson was enjoying the full advantage of free access to the Ninevite treasures on their passage through Baghdad to England, and was able, through his study of the Babylonian detached inscriptions at Behistun, to give a very shrewd guess at the general tenor of their contents. In letters to the Royal Asiatic Society, dated January 23, June 19, and November 3, 1847, he began the publication of his views on the subject of the Assyrian alphabet and language, and especially gave an account of the inscription on the famous 'Black Obelisk,' discovered by Mr. Layard at Nimrud, which, though undoubtedly very imperfect, compares favourably, as a tentative essay, with any other exposition of an Assyrian document up to that time published. This account was written at Baghdad near the close of April 1846.

---

[1] Major Rawlinson's MS. correspondence.

[2] See Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, chap. v. p. 50.

But the most important effect of the vast mass of Assyrian literature thus passing under his eye was to stimulate to the uttermost his zealous pursuit of that branch of cuneiform study upon which he had already entered—the study of the Babylonian character and language, as revealed in the third columns of the trilingual inscriptions throughout Persia, and especially in the lengthy document of Behistun, extending to 112 long lines, besides the detached tablets. The most cursory glance at the Assyrian slabs and tablets made it evident that the character employed and the vocabulary used were identical with those of the third columns at Behistun, or nearly so; and it was clear that the best key to the Assyrian documents was likely to be found in those which a quite independent criticism had already pronounced to be Babylonian. But to be able to employ this key to the best advantage, it was necessary, in the first place, to obtain the Behistun Babylonian inscription, or as much as was left of it. Hitherto, with the means that had been at the disposal of amateur explorers, it had defied transcription—only the detached tablets had surrendered themselves; now the whole must be obtained in the interests, at once, of historical and of linguistic science—the 'Rosetta Stone' of cuneiform discovery, as the Behistun monument has been well called, must be utilised to the utmost. Accordingly, Major Rawlinson prepared himself, in the spring of 1847, to visit Behistun once more, with sufficient apparatus to overcome all difficulties, and obtain the *entire* inscription. He arrived at the rock in July, but found it impossible to set to work; the heat was overpowering, and a brief attempt to brave its irresistible might resulted in an attack of fever which prostrated the explorer for some weeks. He retreated to Hamadan—the ancient Ecbatana—where he found a delicious climate, an interesting neighbourhood, and more than one old Persian friend. Under these influences he made a good recovery; but it was not until September that he thought it prudent to return to the vicinity of the inscription and address himself once more to the task of a complete transcription. This time he had taken care to provide himself with ladders, planks, strong ropes, nails, hammers, and pegs—also with an *entourage* of muscular attendants, including small wiry boys, scarcely less sure-footed than goats. With these aids he attacked the mountain vigorously for the space of ten days, with a result that was wholly satisfactory. Having by means of ladders ascended to the narrow ledge of rock at the foot of the inscriptions, and verified his former readings, he then sent an active mountain lad up a cleft in the face of the mountain to a height considerably above that at which the Babylonian transcript was engraved. The lad carried a hammer, nails, strong pegs, and some stout pieces of rope, which had been tested to bear a weight much exceeding his own. He scrambled up, hammered in a strong peg, attached a rope to it, and attempted to swing himself across the inscription, but this attempt failed, as the rock projected too much. He succeeded, however, in finding another place on the further side at a proper elevation, where he could drive in a second peg and attach a second rope. With the aid of these two ropes, to which he attached a small seat like a painter's cradle, the lad commanded the whole face of rock on which the inscription now especially wanted was engraved; and, being supplied with the soft moist paper used for taking 'squeezes,' he was able to make casts of the entire Babylonian transcript, and, when they had dried sufficiently, to bring them away with him.[1] A perfect copy of the inscription in its existing

---

[1] Major Rawlinson's own account of the mode in which he obtained the Babylonian transcript, contributed by him to the *Archæologia* in the year 1850, is as follows:—

'The Babylonian transcript at Behistun is still more difficult to reach than either the Scythic or the Persian tablets. The writing can be copied by the aid of a good telescope from below; but I long despaired of obtaining a cast of the inscription, for I found it quite beyond my power of climbing to reach the spot where it was engraved; and the cragsmen of the place, who were accustomed to track the mountain goats over the entire face of the mountain, declared the particular block inscribed with the Babylonian legend to be unapproachable. At length, however, a wild Kurdish boy, who had come from a distance, volunteered to make the attempt, and I promised him a considerable reward if he succeeded. The mass of rock in question is scarped, and it projects some feet over the Scythian recess, so that it cannot be approached by any of the ordinary means of climbing. The boy's first move was to squeeze himself up a cleft in the rock, a short distance to the left of the projecting mass. When he had ascended some distance above it, he drove a wooden peg firmly into the cleft, fastened a rope to this, and then endeavoured to swing himself across to another cleft at some distance on the other side; but in this he failed, owing to the projection of the rock. It then only remained for him to cross over to the cleft by hanging on with his toes and fingers to the slight inequalities on the bare face of the precipice; and in this he succeeded, passing over a distance of twenty feet of almost smooth perpendicular rock in a manner which to a looker-on appeared quite miraculous. When he had reached the second cleft the real difficulties were over. He had brought a rope with him attached to the first peg, and now, driving in a second, he was enabled to swing himself right over the projecting mass of rock. Here, with a short ladder, he formed a swinging seat, like a painter's cradle, and, fixed upon the seat, he took, condition was thus procured; but, unfortunately, the existing condition left much to be desired. Between a third and a half of the original writing had gone to decay; and though to a large extent it might be supplied, still, it could only be supplied conjecturally. However, the imperfection of the transcript did not very greatly detract from its value. Enough was left to determine, with the help of the Persian geographic and personal names, the value of almost all the characters; and when these values were supplied, a moderate knowledge of Hebrew rendered the whole of the inscription intelligible.

Still, Major Rawlinson had a considerable work before him. He had to make use of the treasure he had just acquired, and also of the other Babylonian legends in his possession, to collate them with each other, and then to apply to their elucidation the knowledge which had been attained in the course of his many years of Persian cuneiform study. He had likewise to enter upon a more systematic study of Hebrew and Arabic than he had hitherto had time to pursue, and, for the sake of more rapid progress, to engage masters in these subjects, who would facilitate his acquisition of the two somewhat difficult tongues. I am informed by the Rev. P. H. S. Strong, of Ugedale Clehonger, Hereford, that he 'had the honour of giving Major Rawlinson instruction in Hebrew at Baghdad during the earlier part of the year 1849,' and that his teaching was continued until June in that year, when he was sent on a Missionary tour to Sulimaniyeh and other parts of Kurdistan by the London

---

under my direction, the paper cast of the Babylonian translation of the records of Darius which is now at the Royal Asiatic Society's rooms, and which is of almost equal value for the interpretation of the Assyrian inscriptions as was the Greek translation on the Rosetta Stone for the intelligence of the hieroglyphic texts of Egypt' (vol. xxxiv. pp. 73-75).

Missionary Society, and was thus obliged to forego an employment in which he had been greatly interested. I am not aware who was his teacher in Arabic, but his published works indicate sufficiently such a knowledge of these two leading Semitic tongues as qualified him for the investigation of their closely cognate dialects, the Assyrian and the Babylonian.

The investigation occupied almost the whole of the year 1848 and part of 1849. In September 1848, political affairs for a time claimed attention, and literary research had to retire into the background. The Persian monarch, Mohammed Shah, had died, and, as usual in the East, troubles at once broke out. The tribes in the vicinity of Kirmanshah assumed a warlike attitude, and the Pasha of Baghdad felt it necessary to make a counter-demonstration on his part. Half a dozen pretenders to the throne made their appearance, and intrigues were carried on in their behalf all over Persia and Turkish Arabia. The business of the British Agent in Turkish Arabia was to keep matters as quiet as he could, and not commit himself to any particular party or any pretender. At the same time he had to see that British interests did not suffer, nor Russian make any considerable advance during the crisis. The month of September 1848 was one of much anxiety to Major Rawlinson, who passed it at Baghdad, which was the main focus of all the principal intrigues. Peace, however, was fortunately maintained; and by degrees the civil contentions subsided, and Persia once more obtained the blessing of a comparatively settled and quiet government.

Under these circumstances Major Rawlinson applied, in the summer of 1849, for special leave to spend a year in England. He had left his native land in June 1827, and had thus, in August 1849, been absent from it for above twenty-two years. His health had suffered considerably both from the effect of semi-tropical climates and from hard work, and the strain of special anxieties connected with particular occasions. His medical advisers strongly recommended a return to Europe, and a rest from the wear and tear of continual office work combined with political anxieties. He was also desirous of superintending the publication of his 'Second Memoir' —that on the Babylonian translation of the Great Persian Inscription at Behistun—which had been accepted by the Royal Asiatic Society, and was waiting his presence in England to be set up in type by the Society's printers. Works of the recondite character needed for placing Major Rawlinson's discoveries before the public, involving the employment of half a dozen previously unknown alphabets, are liable in an extraordinary degree to typographical error, and it was felt that the eye of the author would be of the greatest use and advantage, if it could be obtained, for the oversight of the proofs of the new 'Memoir.' The 'First Memoir' had suffered grievously by the absence of such superintendence, and it was hoped that the 'Second' would escape this source of imperfection. Unfortunately, this hope was only partially realised, Major Rawlinson being recalled to his post at Baghdad while the printing of the work was still in progress.

The leave applied for having been granted, and Mr. Kemball, the Vice-Consul, having been empowered to do the work of the 'British Agent' during his absence, Major Rawlinson left Baghdad on October 26, and, accompanied by a single servant, rode in three days to Mosul, where he spent a week as the guest of Mr. Layard, carefully examining the ruins. He then resumed his journey, still riding, and proceeded at the rate of about

100 miles a day, by Diabekr and Siwas, to Samsoun, which he reached on the twelfth day from quitting Mosul. From Samsoun the regular steamer conveyed him to Constantinople, where he made the acquaintance of Sir Stratford Canning, and stayed a short time at the Embassy. An Austrian Lloyd steamer took him through the Ægean and Adriatic to Trieste, whence he proceeded home by Vienna, Berlin, and Ostend to London, which he greeted after an absence of twenty-two years about the middle of December (December 18).

CHAPTER IX

RECEPTION IN ENGLAND—WORK IN LONDON—LECTURES BEFORE LEARNED SOCIETIES—CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICALS—HONOURS (1849–1851)

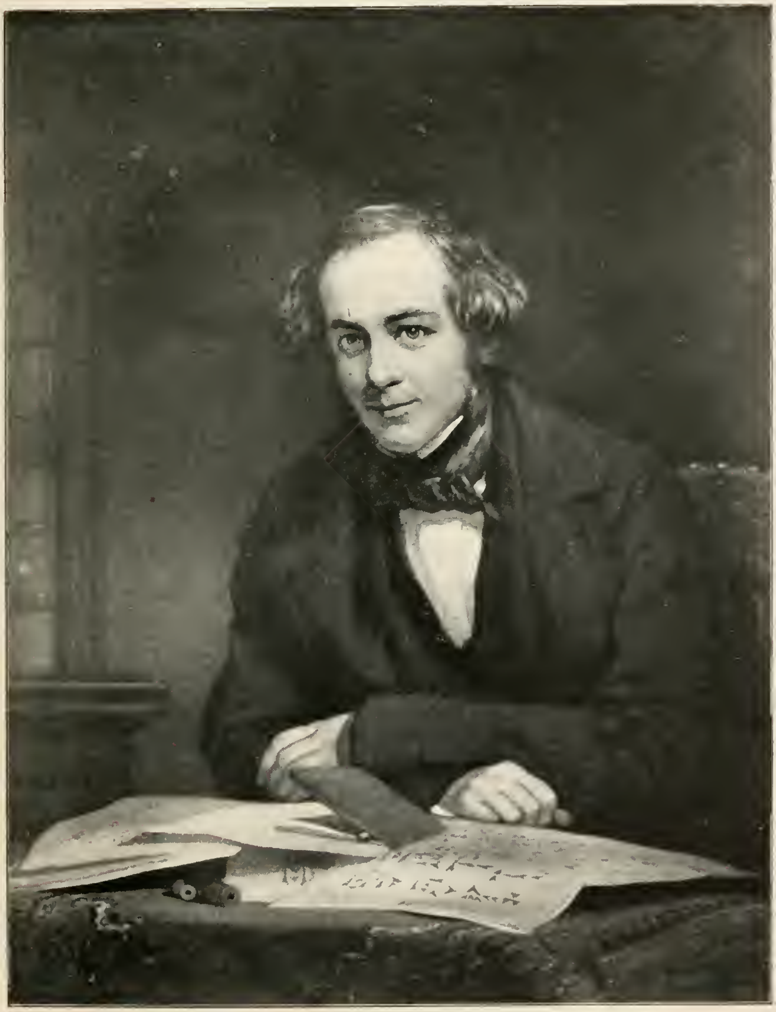
Major Rawlinson's reception in England was such as might have been anticipated. Society received him with open arms. The learned bodies were anxious to secure him for their meetings, and invitations poured in upon him from all quarters. His first visits, however, were paid to members of his family. His mother was still living, and he hastened to gratify her natural longing to embrace a son from whom she had been separated for nearly a quarter of a century. They met at her residence, Hillside, near Westbury-on-Trim, Gloucestershire, early in the year 1850. I was staying in the house at the time, and witnessed the meeting, which was most touching. We were together for about a week; and, before my duties at Oxford called me away, at the earnest request of our mother, who was herself a good chess-player, we had an encounter in the noble game, which I think we, neither of us, ever forgot. Coming from the lands which had given birth to the game, and where it had flourished for centuries, if not for millennia, he was expected to be *passé maître* in the amusement, and to have all its arcana at his fingers' ends, so that a very one-sided contest was looked for. For my own part, though I knew that I was safe against either 'fool's mate' or 'scholar's mate,' I fully expected a defeat before I had played twenty moves. But I was agreeably disappointed. My moves, which were taken from no book, seemed generally to surprise my brother, who more than once exclaimed—'You play *that*, you play *that*—well! I never saw *that* played before!' But I made no serious mistake; and the result was, that after a contest which had lasted above three hours, the game was pronounced drawn. The prolonged struggle had exhausted both of us, and we neither of us seemed to desire, and we certainly never engaged in, another encounter.

Major Rawlinson at once perceived that the only possible place for his residence, during the short term that his leave was to last, would be London. He would have to see his 'Babylonian Memoir,' so far as time permitted, through the press; he would have to attend the meetings of learned societies; he would have to make personal acquaintance with the lights of contemporary literature, whose common meeting-ground was the metropolis. He accordingly took rooms in St. James's Street, and afterwards in Cork Street, retaining them as a *pied-à-terre* while he made frequent visits to all parts of England and Scotland. Invitations poured in upon him on all sides from friends, and still more from strangers; all the leaders of fashion coveting the glory of exhibiting in their drawing-rooms the 'lion' of the season. Her Majesty invited him to dinner in Buckingham Palace, to meet a select party, and kept him nearly the whole evening in conversation. The Prince Consort expressed the greatest interest in his researches, and volunteered to take the chair at the first lecture which he gave in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society. Publishers made overtures to him for books, and learned societies for papers to be read at their meetings. Among the most important results of these overtures was an engagement, into which he entered with Mr. John Murray, of Albemarle Street, to contribute a series of notes and essays on Oriental Antiquities to a work upon Herodotus in four large octavo volumes, which I had undertaken to edit, and Mr. Murray to give to the public when completed. The fruits of this engagement did not appear till some years later, but preparations began to be made for it as early as 1851, when no inconsiderable part of the first volume was written. But the chief work in which Major Rawlinson engaged on taking up his residence in London late in the year 1849, was the putting forth, in a popular form, of the general results of his cuneiform researches up to that date. Absence from Europe, and the difficulty of communication, had greatly obscured his position as a discoverer and decipherer in respect of the *Persian* cuneiform character and the ancient *Persian* language, to which his chief attention had been given from 1835 to 1846. He was anxious now that no such obscurity or ambiguity should attach to his position with respect to *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* decipherment, in which he believed that his claims to priority of discovery, if the facts were fully known, would be indisputable. He, therefore, as the readiest means of putting himself *en évidence*, and obtaining external testimony to the early date at which he had reached his conclusions in the matter of the Babylonian and Assyrian records, within a few weeks of his coming home prepared and read before the Royal Asiatic Society two papers, embodying his views, philological, historical, and geographical, with respect to this second branch of cuneiform inquiry, and second revelation to the world of a mass of information, linguistic, historic, and geographic, which had been hidden from it for above twenty-five centuries. These papers were read before large meetings of the Society on January 19 and February 16 of the year 1850; and, though not immediately published in the Society's 'Journal,' were re-cast, thrown together, and printed for circulation as early as March 1850, besides appearing in the 'Journal' as Article X. at the close of the year.[1]

Another paper on cuneiform discovery was read by Major Rawlinson on March 7, before the Society of Antiquaries, and was published in the 'Archæologia' of the same year (vol. xxxiv., pp. 73–75); but this was concerned rather with the material aspects of the subject than with its literary or scientific bearings. Lectures were also delivered at the Royal Institution, at the Victoria Institute, at Bath, and in the University of Oxford, of a more popular and general character, which tended to the diffusion of something like exact knowledge on the subject, and cleared away many misconceptions. The Oxford lecture, which was delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre, with the Vice-Chancellor in the chair, to a numerous and distinguished audience, aroused an interest not only among the students of the University, but also among the tutors and professors, which secured the new study a consideration not often accorded by seminaries of antique learning to novelties. Professor Max Müller, the head of Oriental linguistic study in the University, gave his voice emphatically in favour of the serious character and real linguistic value

---

[1] See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xii. pp. 401–483; and for the separate publication, see 'A Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, including Readings on the Nimrud Obelisk, and a brief notice of the Ancient Kings of Nineveh and Babylon, read before the Royal Asiatic Society,' by Major H. C. Rawlinson. London, John W. Parker, West Strand, 1850.



SIR HENRY C. RAWLINSON

At the Age of 40

After an Oil Painting by Thomas Phillips, R.A.

of the recent discoveries, and attributed to Major Rawlinson a very important share in them. 'Thanks mainly to your brother,' he said to me one day, 'we now have as complete a knowledge of the grammar, construction, and general character of the ancient Persian language as we have of Latin.' Dean Stanley, who, though not resident in the University at this time, was yet a frequent visitor, took a deep interest in the historical problems involved, and accepted the decipherment of the Persian, Babylonian, and Assyrian inscriptions as sufficiently authenticated.

Other contributions made about this time to learned periodicals were seven letters to the 'Athenæum,' dated respectively January 26, 1850, March 2, 1850, and March 15, April 26, August 23, September 6, and September 13, 1851; two communications to the 'Geographical Journal,' dated April 14 and April 16, 1851; a communication to the 'Literary Gazette,' dated February 23, 1850; and contributions to the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' or its 'Proceedings,' dated February 1, 1850, February 15, 1851, and March 15 of the same year. Though swept into the full vortex of fashionable gaiety, Major Rawlinson did not allow his studies to suffer serious interruption, but had some way of 'working double tides,' which enabled him to occupy two almost incompatible positions without showing himself a defaulter in either.

It was also at this time that he began that connection with the British Museum which continued to the day of his death, and which had such happy results. It had been his good fortune to acquire during the course of his Oriental travels a number of valuable antiquities—Babylonian, Sabæan, Sassanian—many of them quite unique, and all of extreme rarity. Having selected one specimen as a present to the Prince of Wales, Major Rawlinson offered the rest of his collection to the Trustees of the British Museum for the sum of 300*l.* It consisted of twenty-three seal-cylinders, Assyrian and Babylonian, many of them being remarkably fine specimens; six smaller relics, chiefly inscribed stones; one large inscribed stone of black basalt; five marble figures of Babylonian deities; two small alabaster figures of the same; six terra-cotta figures; nine terra-cotta fragments, female heads, masks, &c.; eight nude Babylonian bronzes; four miscellaneous articles; a portion of an earthen sepulchral jar, inscribed with Sabæan characters; eight fragments of jars inscribed with cursive Babylonian legends of the first or second century B.C., in very good preservation; a brick from the ruins of Niffer, with the inscription complete—the only one ever brought to England; and sixteen Sassanian antiques, rings and seals in their original setting, gems, &c.—all of them with inscriptions.[1] The Trustees gladly accepted the offer made them, and concluded the purchase, but were not satisfied without the gem of the collection—the terra-cotta relic which Major Rawlinson had presented to the Prince of Wales. Accordingly, they made an application to the Prince, which resulted in the following letter being received by my brother on the morning of April 19, 1850:—

Buckingham Palace, April 18, 1850.

My dear Sir,—The Prince has been informed that the British Museum are very anxious to possess the terra-cotta relic from Nineveh. His Royal Highness feels an inclination to meet the wishes of the authorities of the great National Establishment, but feels some scruples in parting with what you so kindly presented to him. It would require, therefore, the declaration of your concurrence in the change of its destination before this valuable antique could be given to the British Museum.

---

[1] From a list given in by Major Rawlinson to the Trustees in the year 1850.

Sincerely yours,
C. B. PHIPPS.

Of course consent was given, and the terra-cotta relic was added to the National Collection.

Not long after this, Major Rawlinson, acting on the advice of friends, and having before him the prospect of an almost immediate return to his post of 'Political Agent in Turkish Arabia,' was induced to make an application to the Court of Directors of the East India Company for an augmentation of his local military rank while in the dominions of the Sultan, such as would place him on a par with the Turkish officers with whom his position brought him into contact. The following is the text of his application:—

London, July 6, 1850.

HONOURABLE SIRS,—I take the liberty of submitting the following observations for the consideration of your Honourable Board:—

A custom has prevailed for many years past of granting superior local rank to officers of her Majesty's and of the Honourable Company's army, employed in military or political duties in the Turkish and Persian Empires, the object of such promotion being to enable the officers in question, by the increased consideration which local rank may give them in the eyes of the natives of the country, more efficiently to discharge their duties to their own Government.

The rule which has been adopted in the allotment of such rank has been to grant two or more steps in advance: and the list of officers who have been thus locally promoted includes, I believe, all those that have served in Turkey and Persia in connection with her Majesty's Government for the last thirty years. I am unable to quote this list in detail; but among my own contemporaries, who, being regimental captains, have received local commissions as colonel or lieutenant-colonel whilst serving in Turkey or Persia, and several of whom are still employed with such local rank in those countries, I may mention the names of Chesney, Pasmore, Sheil, Shee, Rose, Williams, Wilbraham, Farrant, Cameron, and Woodfall.

In my own case, the local rank of major was conferred on me by her Majesty's Government in 1837, whilst serving as a lieutenant in Persia; but although I have continued ever since to be employed out of India in situations of great responsibility, and although during that interval of thirteen years I have almost attained to a regimental majority, I have up to the present time received no additional local rank whatever.

Having thus shown, I trust, that, in conformity with precedent, and irrespectively of individual claims, I may fairly be considered entitled to promotion, I take the liberty of adding, that my present post of Political Agent in Turkish Arabia, and her Majesty's Consul at Baghdad, would seem to be one of all others in which the grant of superior local rank might be expected to be attended with advantage; for the civil administration of Baghdad has been recently confided to an officer of high rank in the Ottoman army, and the strictly military tone which has been introduced in consequence into all the proceedings of the Government, renders the Political Agent dependent in a great measure upon the rank with which he may be honoured by his own Sovereign for maintaining among the Turkish officers the dignity and efficiency of his position.

Upon these united grounds, then, I respectfully solicit of the Honourable the Court of Directors that they will be pleased to recommend to her Majesty's Government to grant me the local rank of lieutenant-colonel whilst serving in a double capacity, both under the Crown and under the Indian Government, in the dominions of his Majesty the Sultan.

I have the honour to be,
Honourable Sirs,
Your most obedient Servant,
H. C. Rawlinson, Major,
Political Agent in Turkish Arabia, and
Her Majesty's Consul at Baghdad.

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company,
East India House, London.

The request thus humbly preferred was granted, and when the Political Agent returned to his post at Baghdad in the autumn of 1851, it was as Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel. How military honours are dispensed and distributed is a mystery to all excepting the initiated; but perhaps an outsider may be allowed to express his surprise, that in this case an application should have been needed.

Other honours came in, without any application, at and about the same time from various quarters. As early as 1838, Major Rawlinson had received a diploma as Member of the Société Asiatique of Paris. In 1841 he became an Honorary Member of the Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen. Three years later, in 1844, the great honour was conferred on him of a diploma from the Institut de France, and he became a Corresponding Member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. In January 1850, on his first return to England, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In May of the same year, he received his diploma as Associate of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin; and in June he was elected a Member of the Royal Society of Literature of London. As the subject is one to which it is not desirable to recur, the honours of the same class received in his later life may be here tabulated :—

1853, January 9 : nominated as Chevalier of the Prussian Order of Merit. March 10 : elected Member of the Ethnological Society of London. April 24 : received diploma of the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Berlin. May 1 : received diploma as Corresponding Member of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft of Leipsic and Halle. November 28 : received diploma as Ordinary Foreign Member of the Royal Academy of Literature and Sciences of Munich.

1855, November 30 : elected Member of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.

1856, November 6 : received diploma as Hon. Member of the Geographical and Statistical Society of New York. November 26 : elected a Member of the Numismatic Society of London.

1857, July : received the diploma of Doctor of Law from the Academy of Dartmouth College, United States. October 14 : received the diploma of Hon. Member of the Imperial Geographical Society of Vienna.

1859, January 2 : received the diploma of the Magyar Indomanyos Academia of Buda-Pesth.

1868, February : received diploma as Hon. Member of the University of Upsal. December 9 : received diploma as Ordinary Member of the Archæological Institute of Rome and Berlin.

1869, June 30 : elected a Member of the Society of Arts, London.

1870, May 15 : received diploma from the Geographical Society of Italy at Florence. Became Hon. Associate.

1871, November 28 : received diploma as Hon. Member of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.

1872, December : received diploma as a Foreign Member of the Königliche Gesellschaft, Göttingen.

1873, April : received diploma of the Hungarian Academy (Magyar Földrazzi Tarsulat), Pesth.

1875, August 10: nominated an Officier de l'Instruction Publique, des Cultes et des Beaux-Arts, Paris.

1876, February: received diploma as Hon. Member of the Geographical Society of Geneva.

1877, February: received diploma as Auxiliary Foreign Member of the R. Linx Academy of Rome. December 1: received diploma as a Corresponding Member of the Belgian Geographical Society, Brussels.

1884, April: received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Edinburgh.

Having obtained an extension of his leave, Colonel Rawlinson, as we must now call him, was able to prolong his stay in England until the autumn of 1851, but still found the time insufficient for the main purpose of his coming, which was to carry through the press his 'Memoir on the Babylonian Translation of the Great Persian Inscription at Behistun.' His superintendence ceased about the middle of 1851, while the work itself, much hindered in consequence of his absence, did not make its appearance until quite the close of the year, when it saw the light as a portion of the fourteenth volume of the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.' Considering the literary value of the publication, it seems much to be regretted that the authorities at the East India House could not have stretched a point, and allowed the interests of antiquarian and linguistic science to prevail over those of official etiquette and red-tapism. But the fiat went forth that Colonel Rawlinson must return to Baghdad or resign his post; and in the autumn of 1851 he proceeded by way of Marseilles, Athens, Constantinople, Samsoun, and Mosul to the ancient city of the Caliphs, which he reached in December of that year.

CHAPTER X

SECOND RESIDENCE AT BAGHDAD (1851–1855)—TAKES OVER THE NINEVEH EXPLORATIONS—WORK AS AN EXPLORER—POLITICAL ANXIETIES—LETTER FROM LORD STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE—FRACTURE OF COLLAR-BONE—SECOND RETURN TO ENGLAND

In entering upon his second residence at Baghdad, Colonel Rawlinson found himself burdened with increased responsibilities. To the labours of a diplomatist, and a decipherer and interpreter of extinct languages, he had now to add those of an explorer and excavator. Before he quitted England the Trustees of the British Museum entrusted him with a Commission to take charge of the excavations in Assyria, Babylonia, and Susiana, begun some years before under their auspices, and carried on with such remarkable success from 1845 to 1851 by Mr. Layard. He was given a credit amounting to some thousands of pounds, and authorised to employ such agents as he thought fit in excavating, exhuming, packing, and transporting such antiquities as he deemed worthy of transport to England, to be added to the National Collection. Money was also placed in his hands by private individuals, notably a sum of five hundred pounds by Lord John Russell, to be applied to the same object. His main energies were thus directed into a new field. From the year 1852 he took up the work previously conducted by Mr. Layard. His duties as Political Agent in

Turkish Arabia requiring him to reside mainly at Baghdad, it was impossible for him to give a large amount of personal superintendence to the labours of his subordinates; but such time as he had at his disposal was cheerfully devoted to actual inspection of the most interesting sites and ruins, while the whole of the works engaged in during nearly four years—from 1852 to 1855—were under the control and conduct of his directing mind. In the winter of 1851 and the spring of 1852 he passed two months among the ruins near Mosul, carefully examining them; in the same year and in the next he opened trenches in various parts of Chaldæa and Babylonia; in the spring of 1854 he made another long stay at Mosul, visiting also Nimrud and Kileh Sherghat,[1] while in the autumn of the same year he examined the ruins of Babylon, and personally excavated the great temple of Merodach, commonly known as the Birs Nimrud, and once identified with the Tower of Babel. The chief agents whom he employed were Mr. Hormazd Rassam, British Consul at Mosul, and Mr. W. K. Loftus, Geologist to Colonel Williams's 'Frontier Commission'; but, in addition to these, he gave employment also to Mr. John Taylor (British Consul at Bussorah), Mr. Hodder, Signor Antonetti, and others. Immediately after his arrival at Baghdad, in December 1851, he placed himself in communication with Mr. Loftus, and authorised his expenditure of the 500*l.* which he had received from Lord John Russell on excavations in Susiana, particularly requiring the ruins at Sus (the ancient Susa) to be submitted to a searching examination. The result was the discovery of the ancient palace of the Achæmenian kings, so closely resembling that of Darius at Persepolis, of which a full and interesting account is given in the work published by Mr. Loftus in 1853, entitled 'Chaldæa and Susiana.' In announcing this discovery to the Trustees of the British Museum, Colonel Rawlinson observes:—

---

[1] On his return from this expedition Colonel Rawlinson ran a very narrow risk of his life. He had obtained the usual Arab escort, and was descending the Tigris on a raft, when fire was opened upon him and his escort from the bank by some Arabs, who, it appeared, had revolted from the chief under whose protection he was travelling. The head-man of the escort was shot and died of his wound. He himself happened to be writing, and holding the ink-bottle in his left hand, when a bullet struck it from between his fingers. The firing did not cease till he caused the raft to draw to shore and landed with a few men, when the assailants took to their heels, and no more was seen or heard of them.

> Mr. Loftus commenced operations at Susa about the middle of February, and my intelligence of his operations only extends to the end of March. He had discovered a palace of Artaxerxes Ochus in the Great Mound of Susa, and was busily employed in laying bare the walls, which seem in their construction and decoration to resemble the walls of the later palaces of Persepolis. A trilingual inscription which he has sent me is of much interest in confirming the historical account of the establishment by Artaxerxes [Ochus] of the worship of Anaïtis at Susa. There are several Greek inscriptions also on the walls of the palace, showing that it was inhabited by the Macedonian officers under the successors of Alexander. An Egyptian cartouche of Artaxerxes has likewise been found at this spot, and many fragments of inscriptions belonging to the ancient Kings of Susiana anterior to the time of the Achæmenides.[1]

In April 1852 the Susianian excavations were discontinued, no further antiquities of any importance having been exhumed; and Mr. Loftus, still acting as Colonel Rawlinson's subordinate, made an expedition into the region north of Susa, which, while it yielded little or nothing in the way of ancient remains, resulted in a highly interesting geographical discovery. It was found that the river of Susa, now known as the Kerkhah, had in former times bifurcated after leaving the mountains, and that, while the western branch had passed southward, leaving the city on the left, the eastern had flowed towards the south-east, having the city on its right. A geographical problem of considerable importance was thus solved, the western branch clearly representing the Choaspes, and the eastern the Eulæus of the Greeks (Ulai of Dan. viii. 2), on each of which, according to different authorities, Susa stood.

---

[1] MS. letter of April 21, 1852, to Sir Henry Ellis, Principal Librarian of the British Museum.

Meanwhile, the works at Nineveh and in its neighbourhood had been reopened, and a large number of antiquities of the highest value obtained. From the palace of the son of Esarhaddon, Asshur-bani-pal, probably the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, numerous 'tablets and fragments of cylinders had been procured, containing in many instances royal edicts and records extending over the entire period of the lower Assyrian dynasty.'[1] At Sherif Khan a palace erected by Esarhaddon for this same son, and a temple dedicated by Sennacherib to the god Nergal had been exhumed, and a considerable number of most interesting relics discovered. Among these were a very ancient royal cylinder of the King of Sidikan, grandson of a Shalmaneser contemporary with Asshur-izir-pal, in red cornelian, which Colonel Rawlinson regarded as 'the most perfect and beautiful specimen of Assyrian art' that had been recovered up to that time;[2] two ivory ornaments richly carved, which must have belonged to a mace or sceptre; fragments of a slate vase richly ornamented and inscribed; shells which must have been brought to Assyria from the Red Sea; and a great number of smaller objects. At Nimrud, in a room adjoining the kitchen of Sardanapalus, which Mr. Layard had excavated, a very beautiful alabaster vase had been found quite uninjured, and—strange to say—'some dried conserves inside the vase were almost in the same state as when they were served at the supper table of Sardanapalus nearly 3,000 years ago.'[1]

---

[1] MS. letter of April 21, 1852, to Sir Henry Ellis, Principal Librarian of the British Museum.

[2] *Ibid.*

A pause in the work of excavation during the later summer of 1852 was followed by an active resumption of it in the autumn under changed superintendence. Mr. Loftus returned to England in November, to bring out his book; and the Trustees of the Museum sent out Mr. Hormazd Rassam to the assistance of Col. Rawlinson, as chief practical excavator in his place. Mr. Rassam had graduated under Mr. Layard, and was thoroughly competent to the task. He 'entered upon his duties with zeal and prudence,'[2] and required very little direction beyond an indication of the special localities to which it was desired that his main attention should be directed. Under him was accomplished the extremely difficult work of detaching from the walls of Sennacherib's palace at Koyunjik the interesting series of marbles representing his siege and conquest of Lakitsa—perhaps Lachish—which are now to be seen in the central compartment of the basement chamber in the British Museum collection. These sculptures were in a most critical condition, and it required the greatest care and no small skill to remove them without their crumbling to pieces. This was, however, effected; and our National Collection thus owes some of its most valuable and important treasures to the joint efforts of Sir Henry Rawlinson and Mr. Hormazd Rassam.

---

[1] MS. letter of April 21, 1852, to Sir Henry Ellis, Principal Librarian of the British Museum.

[2] See MS. letter of Colonel Rawlinson to Sir Henry Ellis, dated November 5, 1852.

To the former belonged especially the recovery and preservation of every exhumed inscription. 'I secured,' he says in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis, 'very careful casts of the whole of the Sennacherib inscriptions; and I have now the entire series of the annals restored, written out and literally translated, and ready for publication.'[1] And again, with respect to one particular inscription:—'I have taken double casts of the whole, and by a careful analysis and comparison with numerous fragments of the same inscription, I have succeeded in putting all the parts together, so as to form a complete and continuous narrative of all the leading events of the monarch's reign. This inscription is of great importance, and will, I trust, be published by the Museum *in extenso*, with the literal translation and geographical explanations that I am preparing.'[2] Historical inscriptions were, in Colonel Rawlinson's opinion, of infinitely greater value than sculptured slabs, or other works of art, and he early recognised, and impressed upon the authorities in England, the fact that further discoveries, of the character of those made by M. Botta and Mr. Layard, were not to be expected, but that 'a day of small things' was certain to follow on the rich yield of the earlier labours, and that the effect on the public mind would probably be a distinct feeling of disappointment. 'As the end of the year is now approaching,' he says, in a further letter to Sir Henry Ellis, 'it will be for the consideration of the Trustees, whether our prospects are sufficiently encouraging to justify them in applying to Government for the continuance of the grant for another year. I myself consider the historical importance of every new fragment of an inscription that we obtain to be so great, that I could not reconcile it with my conscience to recommend a discontinuance or interruption of our labours; but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that there is no chance of our lighting on any new sculptured palaces or temples like those at Nimrud and Koyunjik, and that the proceeds of the excavations will not therefore be such as to secure popular applause, or even to satisfy the utilitarian party. New inscriptions and small objects of art are all that I expect to obtain from continual excavations either in Assyria or Babylonia; and it will be accordingly for the Trustees to decide, whether on these grounds they will ask for a renewal of the grant.'[1]

---

[1] MS. letter of July 2, 1852.

[2] *Ibid.*

The task of an excavator in an Oriental country is not without its difficulties. The excavator is sure to have his rivals, in most cases of a different nationality, with whom he cannot always avoid dispute and contention. He is also confused with his rivals in the minds of the native authorities, and regarded as more or less implicated in their doings. Colonel Rawlinson suffered annoyance from both these causes During the time that he had under his charge the British excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, France also was maintaining 'commissions' for similar purposes in both countries. The French Ninevite Commission under M. Place and M. Fresnel, though generally well disposed towards their British confrères, and liberal in their communication of new discoveries and new documents, on one occasion, in 1852, put forth preposterous claims, and had to be met with a firmness and decision which threatened to lead to an open quarrel. The mound of Kileh Sherghat, first taken as the scene of his operations by Mr. Layard in 1847, was visited by the French in 1851 or 1852, and had a few experimental trenches driven into it. No success attending this venture, in a very few months it was abandoned, the workmen were withdrawn, and nothing but a single overseer maintained on the spot, to see that the few trenches opened were not interfered with. When therefore, in 1853, Colonel Rawlinson directed the resumption of Mr. Layard's excavations on this site, and sent Mr. Hormazd Rassam with a party of Jebour Arabs to recommence work on the mound, he was greatly surprised at receiving a remonstrance from M. Place, who complained of Mr. Rassam's proceedings as an invasion of French rights, and claimed a monopoly of excavation on the entire site. It was impossible to admit this claim, since the British priority of occupation was unquestionable, and left the French no standing ground. But to press the matter, to use force, or to make complaint to the Turkish authorities would have been to risk the entire withdrawal of the firmauns and complete stoppage of all the excavations. Colonel Rawlinson was content, therefore, to make a distinct and categorical assertion of the British claims, to secure the adhesion to British interests of the Arabs on the spot, and to maintain a small body of workmen in examining various portions of the ruins, and thus holding possession of the disputed locality. The difficulty with the French Ninevite Commission was thus tided over, and matters shortly returned to their former amicable condition.

---

[1] Letter of Colonel Rawlinson to Sir Henry Ellis, dated March 4, 1853.

In Babylonia there was a further alarm and still greater difficulty.[1] A member of the French Babylonian

---

[1] Speaking generally, the French Babylonian Commission under M. Jules Oppert maintained the most friendly relations with Colonel

Commission, in the autumn of 1852, excited by some discoveries which he supposed himself to have made, completely lost possession of his senses, and in this condition shot the Sheikh of the village of Hillah, whom he imagined to have a design upon his life. This unfortunate circumstance produced a general feeling of alarm. The natives, who had always regarded it as a species of insanity, that Europeans should spend their time and money in digging up and carrying off old stones and bricks, were confirmed in their impression by what had happened, and making but little distinction between one set of Europeans and another, became disinclined to take service as excavators, or to have any dealings that could be avoided with the mad foreigners. The feeling in course of time passed off; but for awhile, during the autumn and winter of 1852, the work of excavation was almost at a standstill.

However, in the spring of 1853, work having been resumed in the upper country, the labours of the excavators were rewarded by a most important discovery. From the ruins of a temple at Kileh Sherghat, where

---

Rawlinson and his staff of excavators, as appears both from private letters and from the public acknowledgments of the French savant. In his great work published in 1863, the *Expédition Scientifique en Mésopotamie*, Mons. Oppert says: 'Du reste, ce qui pouvait faire croire que les craintes étaient en partie fondées, c'était l'opinion du colonel Rawlinson, qui connaissait le pays. Dans une visite que le consul général d'Angleterre nous fit le 20 avril 1852, le savant britannique nous donna des renseignements précieux sur Neffer, Warkah, Senkerah, mais il déclara ces endroits moins accessibles que Hillah dans le moment actuel, et nous conseilla d'aller visiter les anciens débris médiques de Schehrizour et de Yazintépeh.' And in a letter dated October 15, 1853, he writes: 'Colonel, I should not like to let set off the caravan leaving Hillah to-day without repeating once more my most sincere thanks for the hospitality you accorded me during my sojourning at Baghdad. I dare say that without your kindness, and the mighty attraction of the precious informations you afforded me, I should have left Baghdad much sooner.'

researches were still being pursued, was exhumed a clay cylinder which 'turned out to be a most valuable relic.'[1] It contained the annals of the first Tiglath-Pileser, a document of great length, belonging to a monarch anterior to the time of David in Israel, and by far the oldest historical inscription which had, up to that time, been discovered in the country. The cylinder reached Colonel Rawlinson in a very bad state, broken into fragments and in some parts pulverised. Colonel Rawlinson, however, succeeded in uniting the fragments with a composition of gum-water and powdered chalk, and obtained a copy of the entire inscription (with the exception of a few passages), above 800 lines in length—a copy afterwards verified by duplicate cylinders, procured from the same mound, and in an almost perfect state of preservation. It was this inscription which afterwards played so important a part in the general verification of cuneiform interpretations, being simultaneously submitted for translation to the four chief experts, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. E. Hincks, Dr. Jules Oppert, and Mr. Fox Talbot, who severally, without any communication, produced renderings which were substantially identical.[2]

Another discovery of extraordinary interest was made at about the same period. Colonel Rawlinson, having found time to examine carefully the large mass of clay tablets exhumed from the ruins of Koyunjik subsequently to Mr. Layard's retirement, found that they contained 'a perfect cyclopædia of Assyrian science'—almost all subjects being treated at greater or less length in them

---

[1] MS. letter of Colonel Rawlinson to Sir Henry Ellis, dated April 15, 1853.

[2] See the *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., King of Assyria*, B.C. 1150, *as translated by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert.* London: J. W. Parker, 1857, 8vo.

—as 'the system of Assyrian writing, the distinction between phonetic and ideographic signs, explanations of the latter, the grammar of the language, classification and explanation of technical terms, dissection of the Pantheon, notation, astronomical and astrological formulæ, tables of weights and measures, divisions of time, proof of an Assyrian cycle of ten years, history, chronology, geography, geology, metallurgy, and botany.'[1] 'The treatises,' it is added, 'are sufficiently bare and elementary; but there is no doubt at all but that these tablets composed the library of the Assyrian kings, and a thorough examination of all the fragments would lead [probably] to the most curious results.'[2]

As valuable materials accumulated in the hands of the excavators, the subject of transport became one requiring more and more attention. By the end of July 1853 the number of cases containing marbles and other objects of interest which had been floated down the Tigris from Koyunjik, Nimrud, and other sites, and had found a temporary resting-place at Baghdad, under the protection of Colonel Rawlinson, was 120. These were made up of two classes of packages. One consisted of the heavier materials, as obelisks, stone slabs, statues, altars, and the like; the other comprised lighter and more delicate objects, such as cylinders, tablets, glass bottles, and nicknacks of all sorts. Both classes required considerable care, the lighter kind especially; but even the heavier included such tender and friable matters as fragments of inscriptions sawn off from alabaster slabs, to be pieced together when they reached England, which might easily be damaged irrecoverably if roughly treated. Colonel Rawlinson had seen while in England how much the marbles previously sent home by Mr. Layard had suffered on the home voyage, and dreaded the chance of injury to his own collection from similar causes, which he held to be 'ten-fold greater.' 'He looked with dismay' on the prospect of these cases 'being pitched into the hold of a small merchant-vessel, and left to find their way home round the Cape of Good Hope like any ordinary cargo.'[1] He therefore devoted much consideration to the best methods of packing and transporting the valuables under his charge; and as many as eight or ten of his letters to Sir Henry Ellis in the years 1853 and 1854 are occupied with proposals and arrangements of an elaborate kind for the safe conveyance to England of the archæological treasures. The heavier goods had necessarily to descend the Tigris on rafts to Baghdad, there to be transhipped on board small steamers to Bussorah in the Persian Gulf; at Bussorah to be placed on board steamers of a larger size for conveyance to Bombay; and finally at Bombay to undergo another transhipment before starting on their last voyage, and proceeding either by the Cape of Good Hope route, or by way of Aden and Suez, to England. The provision of suitable ships and suitable superintendence for these various voyages and removals was a most anxious matter, and taxed the ingenuity and resource of the Agent to the uttermost. Ultimately, however, some 280 cases were safely conveyed to England in the year 1853, and some eighty or ninety in the year 1854, and the Assyrian Collection in the British Museum was in this way about doubled both in size and value.

---

[1] MS. letter of Colonel Rawlinson to Sir Henry Ellis, dated April 15, 1853.

[2] *Ibid.*

A further trouble and difficulty connected with his duties as excavator, which occupied much of Colonel

---

[1] MS. letter to Sir Henry Ellis, bearing date July 26, 1853.

Rawlinson's attention during these years, was connected with the formation of an 'Assyrian Excavation Society,' entirely independent of the British Museum, which sent its agents into Mesopotamia in 1853, and assumed to take a part in the work of exploration, but on its own lines and at its own discretion. As the Resident remarked to Sir H. Ellis, on first hearing of the matter—'The institution of an Assyrian Society with independent funds, independent powers, and perhaps with independent views, must be expected, more or less, to embarrass the operations which I am now conducting on behalf of the Museum. In common courtesy to the Trustees, who have hitherto exclusively carried on the work of excavation for the benefit of the Nation, the Assyrian Society should have been constituted as merely supplementary to the present system. Mr. Loftus might have been instructed without any impropriety to take charge of the excavations when the Museum funds were exhausted and I had retired from the field; but really, to appear as a competitor, whilst our works are still in full activity, seems to me not only indelicate, but prejudicial to the interests both of our own party and of the other.'[1] The evil results here anticipated were, it is true, obviated for a time by the good understanding which at first prevailed between Colonel Rawlinson and the rival who had so long acted as his subordinate, as well as by the tact and judgment which the former brought to bear on relations in themselves most awkward and difficult of being worked satisfactorily. But, within less than a year, the inherent evils of a false position manifested themselves, and a condition of things was brought about which was most unpleasant to all parties concerned, and was even not without its dangers. In anticipation of the exhaustion of the Parliamentary grant, of the withdrawal on the part of the Museum from the further prosecution of their Mesopotamian researches, and of his own departure from the country, Colonel Rawlinson, in February 1854, consented to Mr. Loftus taking the charge of the works at Koyunjik *temporarily*, pending the decision of the Trustees as to the course which they should adopt. In May, Mr. Loftus accordingly proceeded thither and began excavating for the Assyrian Society. Soon afterwards, however, the Trustees of the Museum, having obtained a further Parliamentary grant, and resolved to continue their researches for at least another year, Colonel Rawlinson thought it desirable to resume the Koyunjik 'diggings' on the Museum's account. He was at once met with opposition by Mr. Loftus.[1] Mr. Loftus claimed that the site had been definitely made over to him, and that not only was the sole right of excavating now his, but that even the property in the sculptures exhumed at the Museum's expense, but remaining on the site—a property of the value of several thousand pounds—had passed from the Trustees of the Museum to the Assyrian Society. Colonel Rawlinson had to meet these preposterous claims, first by an official repudiation of them, and secondly by a letter of remonstrance addressed to Mr. Loftus, in which, by a careful enumeration of all the facts of the case, he completely cut the ground from beneath that gentleman's feet.[2]

---

[1] MS. letter of Colonel Rawlinson to Sir H. Ellis, bearing date September 26, 1853.

---

[1] See MS. letters of Colonel Rawlinson to Sir H. Ellis, bearing date July 13, and September 13, 1854.

[2] The subjoined extract gives the most important portion of this letter:—

'When I proposed to you in February to accept of the inheritance I was prepared to bequeath to you, it was palpably and distinctly in connection with my own intended return to England. Had that intention been carried out, there would evidently have been no alternative but to

As Mr. Loftus, however, continued recalcitrant, it was not long before certain practical difficulties occurred.

leave Nineveh in the hands of the French and Americans, or to make it over to you; and on national grounds I thought it my duty to support the latter course. I can nowhere see, however, in your letters that you accepted the legacy, as you now say you did. You sent off Boutcher, it is true, to sketch the marbles, as they were liable to injury from continued exposure; but you yourself remained in Babylonia, and distinctly wrote over and over again that you should await the Museum answer to my letter of February 16 before you determined to occupy the ground at Nimrud and Koyunjik. When you arrived in Baghdad in May, driven out of Chaldæa by the heat and the floods, and not merely *en route* to Mosul, the Trustees' answer had not arrived, and I advised you to wait for it; for I could not help seeing that my compulsory detention in the country would probably have no small influence on their deliberations. After the arrival of our mail of May 20, still without any answer from the Trustees, I certainly did not urge you to go to Mosul, as you now say. I merely *consented* to your going for your own convenience, and with a special reservation of the rights of the Trustees. I wrote distinctly to Mr. Phillips, that "I had taken upon myself the responsibility of permitting you to go, as the summer heats were now rapidly approaching, and if we waited longer for the Trustees' answer, the chances were you would be unable to perform the journey"; but I added, "it was on a clear understanding that if the Trustees decided on continuing the excavations, I was at liberty to resume occupation of the ground now *temporarily* abandoned." I wrote the same to the Trustees, to Mr. Boutcher, to both the Rassams, and held the same language to yourself, always putting forward the principle that your deputation was to save time and for your own convenience, and that the Museum's rights were clearly understood to be reserved. Had I supposed there could be any doubt on this latter point, I should certainly have embodied it in an official memorandum. But how could there be any doubt? Pray consider the different positions which the Museum and the Society (and their respective agents) occupy in this country. The Museum alone, as Trustees for the British Nation, has a special grant from the Porte to excavate in Assyria and Babylonia. The Society has no such grant, and Lord Stratford anticipated difficulty in obtaining a vizieral letter for you if he had made the application. I enabled you to excavate in Chaldæa by producing the Museum authority, and you are now working at Mosul on the understanding by the Turkish authorities that you are the Museum agent, and on that understanding only. You have the Museum workmen, the Museum tools, and are located in the Museum trenches; it does not seem to me that there can be a possible question as to superiority of right. I admit that my anxiety to save time and avoid exposing you to the hardship of a summer journey, may have led me into error in permitting you to go up to Mosul before the Museum answer reached;

'At Koyunjik,' says Colonel Rawlinson in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis, bearing date Sept. 13, 1854, 'the inconvenience which I always anticipated from Mr. Loftus pursuing excavations in the immediate vicinity of the northern palace, while the Museum workmen were in possession of the palace itself, is becoming daily more apparent. Mr. Loftus has recently discovered sculptures at a lower level than those disinterred by Mr. H. Rassam, but evidently from the style of art belonging to the same building; and in following up his discovery, he is continually encroaching on the *terrain* reserved for the Museum operations, and *risking collisions between the rival workmen.* I am thus very anxious to ascertain the view which is taken in England of the right which he claims for the Assyrian Society over the Nineveh mounds.' Fortunately, it was not long before a decision was taken in England which placed matters on a satisfactory footing, and not only put a stop to all danger of 'collision,' but precluded further awkwardness or inconvenience. The Assyrian Society transferred what remained of its funds to the British Museum, withdrew its workmen, and arranged that its staff of *employés* should be merged in that of the Museum. Mr. Loftus accepted service under the Trustees, and the supreme control of the entire establishment maintained by the Museum in Mesopotamia being once more distinctly en-

---

but my precipitancy in this respect in no ways invalidates the rights of the Trustees. It would be clearly within their competence to send out an express agent to supersede both you and myself, and to assert and carry out their rights. I am not sure that they might not legally obtain a Chancery interdict against the publication by Dickinson of Boutcher's sketches without their consent, the marbles so sketched being their property. You will understand from all this, that I cannot for a moment waive the question of right, and that as the matter may possibly come before Parliament, it is desirable that the principle involved in it should be put on record without delay.'

trusted to Colonel Rawlinson, Mr. Loftus became for a second time a subordinate under the Resident, and acted in that capacity without further friction until the return of the Resident to Europe.

It is often said that 'it is an ill wind which blows nobody good,' and there was one happy result of the misunderstanding between the two officials with which we have been dealing for so many pages. It turned Colonel Rawlinson's attention to a new quarter, and enabled him to employ the energies, which no longer found a free field for their exercise in Assyria proper, at Nimrud and Koyunjik, in a (comparatively speaking) virgin field, and one of extraordinary interest. This was the ruin, or rather group of ruins, commonly known as the Birs-i-Nimrud, situated in central Babylonia, about six miles east of Hillah, and for centuries regarded by travellers as the Biblical 'Tower of Babel,' if not also as the 'Great Temple of Belus.' Colonel Rawlinson had long had his eye upon this group, but had been prevented from attempting an examination of it partly from an unwillingness to excite the jealousy of the French Babylonian Commission, and still more from the greater attraction offered by the principal Assyrian sites. Now (in 1854) that the French Commission was confining itself to some desultory and rather feeble efforts on the site of the ancient Babylon, and that he himself was precluded by delicacy, and to some extent by prudence, from carrying on any extensive operations in Assyria, the Birs again presented its allurements, and for some months engaged his main attention. The excavations, which began in August, were at first entrusted to M. Joseph Tonietti, an intelligent Italian settled at Baghdad, who was directed to open trenches, and ascertain, as far as possible, the general features of the building, and direction of the walls. This young man worked with considerable success for somewhat more than two months, laying bare several portions of the outer walls of the original edifice, and driving trenches into the mound which sufficiently exposed the general character of the interior brickwork. He had been directed by Colonel Rawlinson to choose a position about half way up the slope of the mound, inasmuch as the exterior surfaces of the upper stages, whereof the building was assumed to consist, might be reasonably supposed to have been destroyed, or at any rate to have suffered extensive abrasion from their exposed position, while the accumulation of *débris* towards the base would render it a work of immense labour to lay bare the face of the lower platforms. 'M. Tonietti carried out these instructions with care and judgment. About half way up the mound he came upon a line of wall almost immediately, and, by tracing it outwards, he soon arrived at the perpendicular face. This face he opened to a depth of twenty-six feet, when he reached the platform at its base; and, after a month's labour, he succeeded in uncovering the wall along its entire length from its southern to its eastern angle. Having obtained these indications of level and extent, he had no difficulty, assuming the platform to be square, in discovering the northern and western angles at equidistant points, although, as several feet of *débris* were here accumulated on the surface, but for the guide afforded by measurement, there would have been no more reason for sinking shafts at these points than at any others in the immense mound.'[1]

Such was the condition of the works at the Birs-i-Nimrud when, in the month of November 1854, Colonel

---

[1] Colonel Rawlinson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xviii. pp. 4, 5.

Rawlinson passed from a careful examination of the ruins of Babylon to the personal inspection and direct superintendence of the Birs excavations hitherto carried on under his orders.

Crossing the Euphrates at the village of Anana, a ride of three hours and a quarter brought our small party, he says, consisting of Dr. Hyslop, the Rev. Mr. Leacroft, and myself, to the spot in question. We found our tents already pitched at the camp, or village, which our labourers had formed a short distance to the north of the mound, but without alighting we proceeded at once to inspect the excavations. That day was consumed in making a careful inspection of the various works in progress, and in endeavouring to realise and restore a general plan of the original building from a comparison of the various sections of exterior wall, and interior strata of brickwork, which had been laid bare by the vertical and horizontal trenches now seaming the mound. Having satisfied myself from this examination that at several points the outer walls of the primitive edifice had been reached, and that one face (the south-eastern) of the third stage was completely uncovered, so as to leave the angles exposed, I proceeded on the next morning, with a couple of gangs of workmen, to turn to account the experience obtained from the excavations of Kileh-Sherghat and Mugheir in searching for commemorative cylinders. On reaching the ruins, I placed a gang at work on each of the exposed angles of the third stage, directing them to remove the bricks forming the corner carefully, one after the other, and when they had reached a certain level to pause, until I came to inspect the further demolition of the wall. In the meantime, I proceeded with flag-staffs, compass, and measuring tape to do what I could in taking sections and elevations. After half an hour I was summoned to the southern corner, where the workmen had reached the tenth layer of brick above the plinth at the base, which was the limit

I had marked out for their preliminary work. The bricks had been easily displaced, being laid in a mere bed of red earth of no tenacity whatever. The workmen now eyed my proceedings with some curiosity, but, as they had been already digging for above two months at various points of the mound without finding anything, and as the demolition of a solid wall seemed to the last degree unpromising, and had at its commencement yielded no results, they were evidently dispirited and incredulous.

On reaching the spot I was at first occupied for a few minutes in adjusting a prismatic compass on the lowest brick now remaining of the original angle, which fortunately projected a little, so as to afford a good point for obtaining the exact magnetic bearing of the two sides, and I then ordered the work to be resumed. No sooner had the next layer of bricks been removed than the workmen called out, there was a *khazeneh*, or 'treasure-hole,' in the corner, at the distance of two bricks from the exterior surface, *i.e.*, there was a vacant space in the wall, half filled up with loose reddish sand. 'Clear away the sand,' I said, 'and bring out the cylinder'; and, as I spoke the words, the Arab, groping with his hand among the *débris* in the hole, seized and held up in triumph a fine cylinder of baked clay, in as perfect a condition as when it was deposited in the artificial cavity about twenty-four centuries previously. The workmen were perfectly bewildered. They could be heard whispering to each other that it was *sihr*, or 'magic,' while the grey-beard of the party significantly observed to his companion that the compass, which, as I have mentioned, I had just before been using, and had accidentally placed immediately above the cylinder, was certainly '*a wonderful instrument*.'

I sat down for a few minutes on the ruins of the wall to run over the inscription on the cylinder, devouring its contents with that deep delight which antiquaries only know—such, I presume, as German scholars have sometimes felt when a palimpsest yields up its treasures, and the historic doubts of ages are resolved in each succeeding line—and I then moved my station to the other angle of the stage, that is, to the eastern corner, in order to direct the search for a second cylinder. Here the discovery was not accomplished with the same certainty and celerity as in the first instance; the immediate angle of the wall was gradually demolished to the very base, and, though I fully expected, as each layer of bricks was removed, that the cavity containing the cylinder would appear, I was doomed to disappointment. I then directed the bricks to be removed to a certain distance from the corner on each face, but the search was still unsuccessful; and I had just observed to my fellow-travellers that I feared the masons had served Nebuchadnezzar as the Russian architects were in the habit of serving Nicholas—that there had been foul play in carrying out his Majesty's orders—when a shout of joy arose from the workmen, and another fine cylinder came out from its hiding-place in the wall. As I knew the inscription would prove to be a mere duplicate of the other, I did not peruse it with the same absorbing interest; but still it was very satisfactory to have at least a double copy of the primitive autographic record.

I now moved the workmen to the two remaining angles of the stage, that is, to the northern and western corners, but with very little prospect of further success; for it was evident, from a rough estimate of the level, that the greater portion of the wall at these angles had been already broken away, and that, if any cylinders had been deposited within, they must thus have rolled down with the other *débris* to the foot of the mound. The workmen, however, were employed for two days in clearing the wall at these points to its base, and subsequently in removing the bricks for a certain distance on each side of the corner; and although nothing resulted from the search, the rule was by no means impugned that, wherever the stage of an Assyrian or Babylonian temple can be laid bare, historical or commemorative cylinders will be found deposited in a cavity of the wall at the four corners, at the height of from one-third to one-half of the stage, and at one or two feet from the outside surface. At the northern and western corners the angles were only perfect near the base; at the height where the cylinders should have been found, the wall was already ruined to a distance of six feet on each side from the corners.

It now only remained for me to complete my measurements, and, carrying off the cylinders as trophies, to return to the camp which had been left standing at Babylon.

The 'measurements' here casually alluded to, and passed over as of little moment, resulted actually in the complete establishment of the entire plan and design of the building examined, which proved to be one of the most remarkable of the edifices erected by Nebuchadnezzar, and the only Babylonian ruin in such a state of preservation that its plan and design are capable of being made out with accuracy. It was a species of pyramidal tower, built in stages, each stage being an exact square, and each receding considerably behind its predecessor. The first stage measured 272 feet each way, and was probably twenty-six feet in perpendicular height. Upon this was emplaced the second stage, a square also twenty-six feet high, but in length and breadth only 230 feet. The other stages were diminished proportionally, the third being a square of 188 feet, the fourth one of 146, the fifth of 104, the sixth of 62, and the seventh of 20 feet. The upper stages were of less height than the lower ones, the change of elevation occurring when the fourth stage was reached, and the change consisting in the substitution of fifteen for twenty-six feet. Another irregularity, like this change in the height of the stages, distinctly contemplated by the builder, consisted in the emplacement of the stages one upon another. The squares had not a common centre. Each was retracted towards the south-west a distance of eighteen feet, the platforms on the north-eastern side, which must be considered the front of the building, being, each of them, thirty feet in breadth, while those on the south-western side had a breadth of no more than twelve feet. The entire retrocession was thus one of 108 feet, and the pyramidal form, which lay at the basis of the builder's ideal, was considerably departed from.

The Inscription on the cylinders was thus translated by their discoverer:—'I am Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, the established Governor, he who pays homage to Merodach, adorer of the gods, glorifier of Nebo, the supreme chief, he who cultivates worship in honour of the Great gods, the subduer of the disobedient man, repairer of the temples of Bit-Shaggath and Bit-Tsida, the eldest son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon. Behold now, Merodach, my great Lord, has established me in strength, and has urged me to repair his buildings: Nebo, the guardian over the heavens and the earth, has committed to my hands the sceptre of royalty; (therefore) Bit-Shaggath, the palace of the heavens and the earth for Merodach the supreme chief of the gods, and Bit-Kua, the shrine of his divinity, with shining gold have I appointed and adorned. Bit-Tsida also I have firmly built; with silver and gold, and a facing of stone, with wood of fir, and plane, and pine I have completed it. The building named "the Planisphere," which is the wonder of Babylon, I have made and finished. With bricks enriched with lapis lazuli I have exalted its head.

'Behold now, the building named "the Stages of the Seven Spheres," which is the wonder of Borsippa, had been built by a former King. He had completed forty-two cubits (of the height), but he did not finish its head; from the lapse of time it had become ruined; they had not taken care of the exits of the waters, so the rain and damp had penetrated into the brickwork; the casing of burnt bricks had bulged out, and the terraces of crude brick lay scattered in heaps—(then) Merodach, my great Lord, inclined my heart to repair this building. I did not change its site, nor did I destroy its foundation platform; but in a fortunate month, and upon an auspicious day, I undertook the rebuilding of the crude brick terraces and the burnt brick casing (of the temple). I strengthened its foundation; and I placed a titular record in the part that I had rebuilt. I set my hand to build it up and to finish its summit. As it had been in ancient times, so I built up its structure; as it had been in former days, thus I exalted its head. Nebo, the strengthener of his children, he who ministers to the gods, and Merodach, the supporter of sovereignty, may they cause this my work to be established for ever; may it last through the seven ages; may the stability of my throne, and the antiquity of my empire, secure against strangers and triumphant over many foes, continue to the end of time.

'Under the guardianship of the Regent, who presides over the spheres of the heavens and the earth, may the length of my days pass on in due course. I invoke Merodach, the King of the heavens and the earth, that this my work may be preserved for me under thy care, in honour and respect. May Nebuchadnezzar, the royal architect, remain under thy protection!'[1]

As early as the winter of 1853–4, Colonel Rawlinson began to feel that he had tried his constitution almost as much as it would bear, and that his health, which had hitherto been wonderfully good, was beginning to fail him. He applied, therefore, to the Indian authorities for leave of absence from his post, and early in 1854 made every preparation for quitting Baghdad and returning to England upon a long furlough. Hence arose the misunderstanding with Mr. Loftus, who regarded as positive and conclusive the arrangements which, in Colonel Rawlinson's mind, were only hypothetical and contingent on circumstances. These turned out of such a nature as, for a considerable time, to delay his departure, and to render it almost impossible for him to withdraw from the East. In the first place, his obligations to the Trustees of the British Museum seemed to require that, so long as they continued to maintain their work of Mesopotamian excavation, he should not, unless in a case of absolute necessity, desert them; and secondly, there were political considerations and anxieties which made continuance at his post during the year 1854, and into 1855, almost compulsory. The Crimean War, it is to be remembered, was in progress, and the relations between Turkey and Persia were of the most strained and unsatisfactory character. It was quite possible that at any moment war might break out between them, and Baghdad become the scene of threatened or even actual hostilities on the part of the Shah. When Colonel Rawlinson, in weighing the matter of his proposed absence, wrote to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe for advice and information (January 25, 1854), he received from him the following reply:—

---

[1] See an article by Sir Henry Rawlinson 'On the Birs Nimrud, or the Great Temple of Borsippa,' published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1861, but read before the Society on January 13, 1855, pp. 29–32.

Constantinople, Feb. 22, 1854.

My dear Sir,—I received only yesterday your private letter of the 25th ultimo, and I learn from it with much regret that you intend to avail yourself without delay of the leave of absence which you have obtained from the East Indian authorities. So far from any pacific settlement being in prospect, diplomatic relations are suspended between Russia and the two Maritime Powers; peace hangs on a single thread; and the extreme probability is that war will shortly be declared at London and Paris against the Emperor Nicholas. But perhaps your 'prospect of a pacific settlement' refers to the differences between Persia and Turkey. It is quite true that the Court of Teheran, after giving a most favourable reception to the overtures from St. Petersburg, veered suddenly round, and gave assurances of a friendly character to the Porte as well as to its ambassador at Teheran. It is also true that the admonitions addressed to the Shah by her Majesty's Government are well calculated to confirm the improvement in the language and sentiments of Persia. But it is not easy to put implicit trust either in the assurances or in the discretion of the Shah and his ministers. Their habitual animosity against Turkey, the means of temptation possessed by Russia, and the chances of war may easily concur to overthrow their better policy, and to plunge them again into plans of a dangerous character. So vivid is my apprehension of another change in this sense, that I am still endeavouring to obtain such concessions from the Porte in favour of Persia as justice requires and a sound policy appears to prescribe. With respect to the frontier complaints, the pilgrims, and the indemnity due on account of Kerbelah, my efforts have not been fruitless, and I am anxious to complete the good work by obtaining some reasonable satisfaction for Persia on the subject of Kotoor.

Under these circumstances I only do justice to your distinguished quality by deeply regretting the prospect of your absence from Baghdad. Events may easily occur to make your neighbourhood the scene of interesting and important operations. We cannot support the Turks in their perilous struggle with Russia, and not be exposed to the necessity of becoming principals in the war, and of making every sacrifice for the sake of attaining a successful issue. I cannot for a moment doubt that active measures would be adopted against Persia, if the Shah were to employ his frontier army in the interest of Russia, and that a British force detached from India would give ample evidence of our determination not to be trifled with in such a case.

It is not very likely that my letter will reach Baghdad or even Mosul before your departure; but I should be sorry to neglect the chances offered by this opportunity, and I should esteem myself fortunate if it not only reached you in time, but induced you to reconsider the question of your leave, and inclined you to postpone awhile the execution of your travelling intentions.

* * * * * *

Sincerely yours,
Stratford de R.

So strong a dissuasive could not but have very considerable weight. Colonel Rawlinson's departure was delayed, mainly in consequence of it, through the whole of the year 1854; and his thoughts were turned to schemes for the promotion of British interests in Western Asia, supposing the flames of war to penetrate into the neighbourhood of Baghdad, and Turkish Arabia to be involved in the conflagration. The pigeon-holes of the Foreign Office contain, it is probable, more than one such scheme, elaborated by the Baghdad Resident during the years 1853–5, and submitted to the judgment of his superiors. Rough drafts of some of them remain among his papers, by which it appears that he contemplated the occupation of Mesopotamia from Diarbekr and Mardin to the Persian Gulf by a detachment of the Indian Army, the conversion of Persia into a subject-ally, and the assumption of a menacing attitude on the Russian south-east frontier for the effectual support of the Turkish power in

Armenia and Kurdistan. The rapid collapse of Russia in the Crimea, and the early conclusion of a peace, brought these schemes to an untimely end.

Colonel Rawlinson would perhaps have lingered still longer at Baghdad but for an unfortunate accident. Early in 1855 he was indulging in the recreation of wild boar hunting on the eastern side of the Tigris, when he had the misfortune to fall from his horse and break his collar-bone. The bone had been broken before, and this complicated the injury, inducing much suffering, and rendering the cure long and tedious. It was not till the third week in February that he was able to move about with any comfort, and even then he could not mount his horse, or walk any considerable distance. Thus incapacitated from his usual active employments, he resolved on taking the furlough so long looked forward to, and going by sea to Bombay, and thence, chiefly by sea, to England. At Bombay Lord Elphinstone, the Governor, entertained him hospitably for three weeks, at the end of which time he was sufficiently recovered to proceed home by way of Aden, Suez, Trieste, and Vienna, arriving in London early in May, as the London 'season' was commencing.

CHAPTER XI

LIFE IN ENGLAND FROM 1855 TO 1859—RESIGNATION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE—REFUSAL OF AN OFFER OF KNIGHTHOOD—BECOMES A K.C.B.—NOMINATED A CROWN DIRECTOR OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY—ELECTED M.P. FOR REIGATE—BECOMES MEMBER OF THE FIRST INDIAN COUNCIL, AND RESIGNS HIS SEAT IN PARLIAMENT

Colonel Rawlinson's intention in returning to England in 1855 was to bring his Asiatic career to a close, and devote the remainder of his life to working out in England the various literary problems for which his Asiatic researches had furnished him with such abundant material. The resignation of the appointments which he held under the Hon. the East India Company, and of one appointment which he held under the Crown, was a necessary preliminary to the change which he contemplated, and which the condition of his health seemed to him to render imperative. Accordingly, in December 1854, he opened communications on the subject with the authorities at the India House, and, having ascertained that he was entitled to retire on full pay in October 1855,[1] he sent in his resignation not only of the appointment, which he had held for twelve years, of Political Agent in Turkish Arabia, but of the service altogether, whereto he had belonged for twenty-eight years. To the Foreign Office he notified his retirement from the post of Consul-General in Turkish Arabia, and, having thus become a free man, absolute master of his own actions, he commenced a residence in London which, with only occasional breaks, was continuous for forty years—from 1855 to 1895.

---

[1] Colonel Rawlinson's Indian service had commenced on October 25, 1827, when he first set foot in India. His twenty-eighth year of service being completed on October 24, 1855, and his absence on furlough having been nine months less than the absence which the regulations allowed, he was entitled to retire at the latter date on the full pension of a lieutenant-colonel, viz. 365*l.* per annum. (See a MS. letter from the India House, signed by James C. Melvill, Secretary, and dated January 25, 1855.)

It was not long after his arrival in England that he received the following note from Lord Clarendon:—

Grosvenor Crescent, July 4, 1855.

My dear Sir,—I have great pleasure in informing you that the Queen has graciously expressed a desire to mark her sense of your services, and her Majesty would confer on you the honour of knighthood if it would be agreeable to you to receive it.

Very faithfully yours,
Clarendon.

The subjoined was Colonel Rawlinson's reply:—

21 Savile Row, July 5, 1855.

My Lord,—I have received this afternoon your Lordship's note of yesterday's date, and hasten to express the feelings of profound gratitude with which I have learnt that the Queen has been graciously pleased to signify her approval of my services.

In respect, however, of your Lordship's suggestion as to the mark of her Majesty's favour to be conferred on me, I would beg to explain, with all respect and deference to your Lordship's judgment, that, having been honoured by her Majesty above twelve years ago with the Companionship of the Bath for services in the field, it would be more agreeable to me at the present time not to receive the separate honour of knighthood.

I remain, yours most faithfully,
H. C. Rawlinson.

The declining of Court favours is usually understood to be a somewhat risky proceeding, more especially when the individual who declines them looks for other favours to the same quarter. In this instance, however, no offence seems to have been given, since within seven months of the date of the above correspondence, the appointment of Civil K.C.B. was conferred upon Colonel Rawlinson by the Crown to his great satisfaction (February 4, 1856).

Two months later (April 10, 1856), Sir Henry Rawlinson, as he must now be called, received a further appointment, which was not merely an honour but a substantial reward—he was nominated a Crown Director of the East India Company,[1] and took a place at the Board under which he had so long served. A crisis had been reached about this time in East Indian affairs, and the government of the great dependency was being reformed and re-modelled. Both political parties were agreed as to the necessity of some considerable change, and both presented 'India Bills' to Parliament, which were the subjects of warm discussion. Sir Henry worked for a time as Crown Director under the Right Hon. Vernon Smith, who held the office of President of the Board of Control of the years 1855 and 1856. He attended steadily at Leadenhall Street, and easily mastered the details of official business, becoming in the course of a few months one of the most active, and one of the most trusted, members of the Board. His ambition, however, at this time, took a loftier flight, and could be content with nothing less than a seat in Parliament and a share in the direction of the affairs of the entire British Empire. In 1856, on the rumour of the retirement of Mr. Dunlop from the representation of Greenock, he paid a visit to Scotland, intending to offer himself to the constituency as a candidate for the seat. He found, however, that the report which had reached him was at any rate premature, and that the honourable member had certainly no immediate intention of creating a vacancy. It was, therefore, necessary for him to direct his attention to some other quarter, and a general election occurring in April 1857, he determined to stand for the small borough of Reigate, where he happened to have a little interest. The venture was unsuccessful. He was beaten by a local magnate, Mr. William Hackblock, whose brother was the owner of Brockham Warren, Betchworth, Surrey, a fine place in the neighbourhood of Reigate, by the very substantial majority of 98, the numbers being—for Mr. Hackblock, 233; for Sir Henry Rawlinson, 135. His ambition, however, was not seriously damped by this defeat. The death of Mr. Hackblock occurring in January 1858, Sir Henry again came forward as a candidate at the bye-election in February of that year, and won an easy victory, being returned by a considerable majority. He took his seat immediately, and on February 13 rose in his place to support the India Bill of Lord Palmerston, which was at that time before the House. His speech is thus reported[1] in the 'Annual Register':—

---

[1] There seems to have been some little hesitation as to whether he should receive his appointment from the Crown or from the Board of Directors, and just a possibility of his 'falling between two stools.' In a short note, dated July 12, 1855, the Right Honourable Vernon Smith (afterwards Lord Lyveden), President of the Board of Control, thus expresses himself upon this point:—

'Dear Colonel Rawlinson,—I return you the notes which you left with me. I have spoken to the Chairman, and hope we may contrive that you should not fall between two stools, having earned reputation upon both.—Yours very truly,

'R. Vernon Smith.'

The result was, that the 'fall' was averted, and that Colonel Rawlinson received the appointment which, on the whole, he preferred.

> Sir Henry Rawlinson observed that the change of the government of India [proposed by the Bill] was twofold: in England by the abolition of the double government, and in India by the proclamation of the Queen's name. To show the complex and dilatory machinery of the double government at home, he described what he termed 'the gestation of an Indian despatch'; and he asked whether there could be a more obstructive and unbusiness-like system. The sooner the double government, therefore, was done away with, in his opinion, the better. With respect to the change in India, he believed that, with the exception of a very small section of the covenanted civil servants, the European community and the officers of the Indian army would prefer the government of the Crown to that of the Company. In considering the effect of the change on the natives of India, he observed that among the great mass of the population, owing to their docility and susceptibility, individual character and influence had more effect than any abstract question of government. But among the educated classes it was different; he believed that they understood the distinction between the Crown and the Company as well as we did, and he [had] never heard a doubt of their preferring the government of the former. With regard to the most important question—that of the time—it was his honest opinion that it was favourable for the change, and that the proclamation of the Queen's name would produce good effects. By approving the principle of the Bill, and deprecating delay, however, he did not commit himself to an approval of its details, there being parts to which he could not assent.

The qualified support thus lent by Sir Henry to Lord Palmerston's India Bill was not destined to have any practical result, the Bill being suspended by the downfall of Lord Palmerston's Ministry towards the end of February on the French (Conspiracy) question, and a fresh Bill being brought forward by Mr. D'Israeli, which was in its turn superseded by one based on Resolutions, and skilfully piloted through the House by Lord Stanley. Sir Henry gave this Bill also his approval, but took no great part in the discussions upon it, being in a somewhat delicate position as an interested party. Both sides were anxious for his support, and had offered him positions in the new Indian Government, which for some time he declined; finally, however, on the passage of Lord Stanley's Bill by something like a unanimous vote, he made up his mind to accept the offer of a seat in the new Council, although his acceptance of it brought for the time his Parliamentary career to an end. After a good deal of debate, it had been ruled that the Members of Council should be ineligible for seats in Parliament, chiefly on the ground that otherwise unseemly collision might take place in the House between the Indian Secretary and his subordinates. Sir Henry himself took a different view, being of opinion that the advantages which would result from the presence in the House of Commons of a certain number of Members of Council would more than counterbalance this disadvantage. He acquiesced, however, in what proved to be the general sentiment of the House, and, subordinating his personal ambition to his desire of usefulness, accepted the offer made him, and became a Member of the first 'India Council,' his appointment bearing date September 1, 1858.

---

[1] *Annual Register* for 1858, p. 25.

Work at the Council was, speaking broadly, almost the same thing as work on the Board of Directors, and presented, therefore, no features of novelty or difficulty to Sir Henry, who had served on the Directorate for two years. He threw himself into it with his accustomed energy, and won golden opinions both from Lord Stanley, the President, and from the majority of his colleagues. He was not, however, suffered to continue very long in this subordinate, albeit honourable, position. Early in the year 1859, Lord Stanley, having to recommend a fitting person to the Queen for appointment to the Persian Envoyship, vacant by the retirement of Sir Charles Murray, on looking round among qualified persons, could find no one who seemed to him so well fitted for the post as Sir Henry Rawlinson, to whom, therefore, after consultation with his father, Lord Derby, then Prime Minister, he offered the appointment. Sir Henry's antecedents, no doubt, pointed to him as a specially qualified person; but his close association with Lord Stanley in the India Office, and the impression which his work in the office had made upon its president, had probably considerable weight in causing his selection.

CHAPTER XII

ACCEPTS THE EMBASSY TO PERSIA—INTERVIEW WITH A REIGATE CONSTITUENT, AUGUST 1859 — JOURNEY FROM LONDON TO TEHERAN—RECEPTION BY THE SHAH—LIFE AT TEHERAN FROM NOVEMBER 1859 TO MAY 1860—RESIGNATION OF THE EMBASSY —REASONS AND RUMOURS

Among the positions which had for many years presented themselves to Sir Henry Rawlinson as within the range of his ambition, and as more or less desirable, was the Embassy to the Court of Teheran, with which he had become thoroughly familiar during the years 1833–9. He observes in a notebook intended to furnish materials for his biography, under the entry for the year 1855—'In the beginning of this year, Charles Murray and his mission reached Baghdad, on their way to Teheran, which was rather a disappointment to me, as I had hoped to have been nominated to this post myself'; and in his private letters to relations the position is often spoken of as one which he coveted, and to which he considered that he might reasonably aspire. The offer of it came, however, in 1859, somewhat unexpectedly. It was made, as already stated, by Lord Stanley, Secretary for India under his father Lord Derby's Ministry, with the consent and, I believe, at the suggestion of his father. Sir Henry was at the time deeply immersed in the business of the India Council, and was quite content with the position which he held in that body, of which he was one of the most influential members. But the offer made him was one not lightly to be slighted. It came from the political party on which he had the least claim, and with which he was least closely connected. It clearly involved promotion and advancement, and a refusal might have seemed ungracious. It was the fulfilment of an old day-dream, though of one which had almost faded away. On the whole, after some hesitation, Sir Henry thought it best to accept the appointment, and set about making preparations for his departure, which naturally occupied some considerable time, and put him to considerable expense. The status of an ambassador in the East necessitates the maintenance of a large and brilliant establishment, and the newly appointed Envoy was anxious to produce a good impression by having all things about him arranged on the most liberal scale. Having received his appointment in April, he had, however, towards the middle of June, completed the necessary arrangements, and was about to take his departure, when suddenly a further delay became necessary through the change of Ministry consequent upon the defeat of Lord Derby's Government on the motion of Lord Hartington at about that date. It then became incumbent upon him to wait for fresh instructions from the new Indian Minister, whoever he might be; and Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax) having taken Lord Stanley's place, it was from him that Sir Henry received his final instructions before quitting London and starting for Persia on August 18, 1859.

A diary kept at this period contains the following entry:—

August 18, 1859.—Made my first move from London . . . and disagreeable enough it was to change from the comforts of Langham Place to the cramped accommodation of an hotel, although that hotel was the Pavilion at Folkestone—the model establishment of England. Lawrence Oliphant, deep in China and Japan, and the Scudamore Stanhopes were my travelling companions; and our talk was of the Yang-tsi-Kiang, of Yedo, Dr. Smethurst, haunted houses, and ladies' hats. Having sent my servant back to town immediately on arrival, I had a fight about a missing carpet-bag, and set the telegraph at work; but I now begin to suspect that the article was never sent, but is still reposing in my rooms. Persecuted in the reading-room by one of my old Reigate constituents, a radical Quaker coal-dealer, eaten up with vanity, Mr. T. D., from whom the Lord deliver me. He was bad enough at Reigate, where he had three or four votes at his disposal. Here, with no votes, his wheezy voice, collier manners, and self-conceit, he is simply unbearable.

Paris was reached on Thursday, September 8, and, after a stay of a few days with Lord and Lady Cowley at Chantilly, and some long and interesting discussions with Hussein Ali Khan Gervooss, a Persian statesman resident in the French metropolis, was quitted on the 16th for Lyons. Hussein Ali was consulted on the state of affairs in Persia, and the best course to pursue in order to re-establish British influence at the Court of Teheran. The pith of his information seems to have been, that under existing circumstances 'the Shah was everything in Persia, no one else in the country worth considering. He (the Shah) had been greatly exasperated against the English, and was in fact still out of humour with us, and indisposed to any friendly action.' The Khan's advice was simply this—'to use the Russians as a bugbear, and frighten the Shah well, before attempting to gain his confidence. Above all,' he said, 'do not be deterred by a single failure. Keep your temper, and persevere; and matters will come straight.'[1]

After a night at Lyons, and a two days' stay at Marseilles, Sir Henry embarked on board a French steamer bound for Valetta, which made the passage in 62 hours, leaving Marseilles at sunrise on September 19, and casting anchor in Valetta harbour at 8 P.M. on September 21. 'The French captain and officers,' says the note-book, 'were pretty civil, but evidently hated the English. In fact, I have remarked on this trip, much more than on any previous occasion, the intense jealousy with which everything English is regarded. . . . . . Malta is certainly not a pleasant residence—climate hot—glare and dust everywhere—and all the bickerings, gossip, &c., of a little Pedlington—civil, military, and naval services all jealous of each other, and all hating and snubbing the Maltese.'

At Malta, Sir Henry obtained passage to Constantinople in a Queen's ship, the *Caradoc*, which was to stop a day at Athens on its way. He left Valetta harbour on September 24, reached Athens on the 27th, stayed there the 28th, and arrived in the Bosphorus on October 3. Athens, which he had never previously visited, delighted him. Sir Thomas Wyse, the British Minister, was politeness itself, and gave himself up to his guest's entertainment. 'He served us,' says the diary, 'as a most accomplished cicerone, showing us over the Temple of Jupiter, the Arch of Trajan, the Theatre of Bacchus and Herodes Atticus (a most interesting site), the Acropolis throughout, including the Temple of Victory, and the beautiful torsos lately found,[2] the Propylæum, the Parthenon, the Temple of Minerva Polias, the Erechtheum, Cimon's tomb, the Pnyx and Agora. The Theseum and Temple of Æolus we did by ourselves. We afterwards dined with Sir Thomas Wyse, and met General Church and the Austrian Minister. . . . Sir Thomas mentioned a remark of one of the Greek Ministers on the Ionian proposal of annexation to Greece: "The table is very small, and the company is already numerous, where shall we find room for more guests?" In fact, Wyse says positively, that the Greek Government gives no encouragement whatever to the Ionian movement, and is averse to the whole scheme of annexation. If this be true, it is very strange that the Ionians should thus be running after a shadow.'

---

[1] MS. Diary kept by Sir H. Rawlinson on his journey from London to Teheran in the year 1859.

[2] 'These three draped figures of Victory,' Sir Henry adds in a note,

At Constantinople Sir Henry Rawlinson was received with every civility by the British Minister, Sir Henry Bulwer, and was introduced to the principal Turkish statesmen and presented to the Sultan. The following is his own account of the presentation:—

> We went on afterwards to the famous Dolma Baghche Palace, where we were received in the outer building, and had to wait at least an hour, as the Sultan had just received the Report of the Commission on the subject of the [recent] conspiracy, and was occupied with considering it. At length we were summoned, and, preceded by a single chamberlain, crossed the garden to the great Palace. Passing through some corridors, we ascended the great staircase with the crystal barricade, surmounted by the ruby skylight, the effect of which was quite magnificent. Immediately above the staircase was a single man in plain Turkish dress, walking leisurely about the room. Approaching

---

'though all more or less mutilated, I look upon as the most beautiful specimens of Greek sculpture I have ever seen.'

him we bowed twice, while he remained perfectly still. He wore a very sad expression of countenance and said not a word. Pisani, in a very low tone of voice, made the ordinary announcement, that, as her Britannic Majesty's Minister proceeding to Persia, I was anxious to pay my homage in person to his Majesty in passing through Constantinople. I added, 'especially as I had already served my Government for twelve years in his Majesty's dominions!' He then gave the first sign of animation, asking, 'Where?' I replied, 'At Baghdad.' The conversation was afterwards of the usual stamp. He asked after the Queen, and of the whereabouts of Prince Alfred, seeming rather curious to know if H.R.H. was coming to Stamboul. I took advantage of this to express the extreme solicitude her Britannic Majesty took in the prosperity of the Sultan's Government. He replied, that 'Inghilterra had always been the best friend to Turkey.' The interview lasted from five to ten minutes, when his Majesty asked if I would not like to see the palace, and ordered a chamberlain to show me over it. The saloon south of the staircase is very fine, but the grand domed hall below is the great wonder. It is probably the finest room in Europe, though (as I heard afterwards remarked) a little too theatrical. The Sultan did not seem to be dissipated and prematurely aged, as I expected to find him, but rather mournful and thoughtful, and very rarely lighting up.[1]

Having seen the sights, and had some important interviews with Sir Henry Bulwer, the British Ambassador, the Persian Envoy left Constantinople on the morning of Monday, October 10, by steamer, passed Sinopé the next day, and anchored at Trebizonde on the morning of Wednesday, October 12. Here he spent a couple of days, proceeding on his way to Poti at the mouth of the river Rhion in the night of October 13, and anchoring in the roads there at daylight on the morning of October 14. As the regions on which he now entered are still comparatively little traversed by Europeans, and at the time were almost virgin soil, some further extracts from the diary will, it is thought, possess an interest.

---

[1] MS. Diary kept by Sir H. Rawlinson on his journey from London to Teheran in the year 1859.

Reached Poti, *Friday, October* 14. Weather beautiful. Light wind from the east, sky clear, sun still hot, and sea perfectly smooth. River steamer employed for some time in discharging the cargo of the large Russian steamer from Trebizonde, but came alongside about 1 P.M. and took us into the river beautifully. Not a ripple to be seen on the bar—seven feet of water on it at the time—and steamer, being deeply loaded, drew six feet or upwards. Landed at the Poti Customhouse, and took up our quarters at the commandant's residence. Everyone most civil. Weather being fine, the place looked very nice and cheerful, but must be miserable in the wet and rain.

Saturday, October 15.—Started early in the steamer up the Rhion, and found the navigation difficult enough. We were two hours and more in one place, getting across a flat. The vessel draws three feet, and at two points between Poti and Meran that is the average depth of the river, so that there is nothing for it but to lay out anchors and haul on them. Our vessel is badly provided with anchors and boats, and under-manned. The lower part of the country is a mere swampy forest; higher up, alluvial banks rise a little, but forest continues. At the second bad place, about twelve miles in a straight line from Meran, we pulled up for the night, the captain being afraid to venture on in the dark. N.B.—The river is full of the most ugly-looking *snags* . . . Two engineers are on board, come out to survey the country from Poti to Baku for a railway. They say from Poti to Meran would be easy enough, as a couple of deep ditches on each side would leave the railway itself dry.

Sunday, October 16.—We were three hours working over the bad place, but steamed on afterwards without impediment to Meran. Country very picturesque when you reach the hills some miles from Meran. Splendid forests, bold jutting crags, and richly cultivated slopes here and there. Mingrelian women seen along the banks of the river, very handsome. Meran, a large straggling place, suffered much from Omar Pasha's troops. Commandant an old Russian officer with a Georgian wife, and two very fine daughters, the eldest a perfect beauty. They received us well, but we went on as soon as we could obtain conveyances. These were very bad—a *tarantuss* for myself and the officer sent from Kotaïs to meet me, a sort of car or Roman chariot for three gentlemen, and *teleqis* without springs for the remainder. Started at 5 P.M. and reached Kotaïs at 1 A.M., the greater part of the way being through deep mud or water. The country indeed is perfectly inundated owing to a fortnight's rain, and I should think no railway could stand such continued floods. The road follows up the Hun river (Hippopotamus river the Russian officer called it) for some way, and we also crossed another large stream about halfway by a most rickety bridge, where we were obliged to take out the horses and drag the carriages over by hand. Reached Kotaïs at one, thoroughly tired. Estimated distance from Poti to Meran, following the windings of the river, fifty miles, and on to Kotaïs perhaps thirty miles. Kotaïs is an open town, clean looking, with many new houses. Took up our quarters in the Club house.

Kotaïs contains about 15,000 inhabitants, Jews, Russians, and Mingrelians. It is a wretched place altogether—a mere bad Eastern town, with a few European buildings dotted here and there about it, which only seem to make the mass of the hovels around them look still more miserable. . . . The Mingrelians are a wonderfully handsome race, both men and women, and much superior in this respect to the

Georgians. Kotaïs, however, is (I believe) in Imeretia. They declare here that the dialects of Imeretia and Guriel hardly differ from Georgian, but that Mingrelian and Lazi have little or no connection with it; at any rate a Georgian cannot understand a Mingrelian, and *vice versa.* In round numbers, the army of the Caucasus is (on paper) 250,000 men, 100,000 of these being distributed between the mountains and the Persian frontier.

Tuesday, October 18.—Made three days from Kotaïs to Bidafori (?), the 'White Mountain.' A good deal of mud, and no made road except near Kotaïs. The country very beautiful, especially at this season—low hills richly wooded, with valleys between them, forming the belt between the spur which here runs south from the Caucasus to Akhaltzik and the low country of the sea-coast. By-the-by, in Akhaltzik we have probably the very name of Colchis. . . . The passage of the mountains from Meliti to Suram took us six hours. We were allowed, as a great favour, to pass by the new road, not yet opened to the public, and thus avoided the mud and sharp ascents and descents of the ordinary route; but I doubt whether we gained in time, as the new road must be double the length of the other, and being covered as it was with newly broken stones, the horses could never go out of a walk. This new road, when completed, will really be a great work, not quite equal to the famous railroad over the Semerang, but in something of the same character. The rock, however, is soft throughout, chiefly sandstone, with some harder material imbedded in it, pudding fashion. The scenery was quite magnificent. Nothing could exceed the beauty of the forest foliage, the wild vines and creepers giving patches of a bright red colour in addition to the ordinary autumn tints.

Thursday, October 20.—Made two short stages from Suram to Gori. Could not go further, as there was no decent station to stop at. Moreover, it came on to rain heavily, and then I had a smartish attack of fever, brought on by biliary derangement. We were magnificently lodged at Gori, in the private house of a Georgian noble, the chief landed proprietor of the district. The boudoir assigned to me was decorated with German, Parisian, and English prints, the prevailing taste here being evidently for the *décolté* school. Among the pictures were prints of Pascal, Bacon, Shakespeare, Cromwell, Pope, and some others which I did not recognize. Gori is a considerable place. The garrison is of two regiments, but one of them is now detached to Suram.

Friday, October 21.—Made five stages from Gori to Tiflis. Road good and horses everywhere ready, so that, including all delays, we were only ten hours on the road, and got in before dark. . . . Gori is on the Kur, called here always Kura. We took up our quarters at an hotel hired for us by the Prince.

Saturday, October 22.—Was visited early by Messrs. Kensenstern and Cady, the two chief civil officers of the Government, and then accompanied the former to pay my respects to Prince Bariatinski. Found his Excellency in his bedroom, seated in an easy chair, with his feet swathed in cloths, in a dressing-gown, but with the St. George's Cross (II. Class) round his neck. He is a fine, tall, military figure, the *beau idéal* of a Russian general, but now completely put *hors de combat* by the gout. I sat with him nearly an hour, and he gave me the most interesting account possible of his capture of Shamil. The campaign only lasted forty-two days. He had 30,000 men in the field. His first serious affair was at the crossing of the river and entering the range in occupation of the enemy. There the Russians lost four or five hundred men; and for that victory, which in fact decided the campaign, as it gave him the command of the mountains, he received the St. George's Cross. There were several other skirmishes before he succeeded in investing Gounib, which he described as an isolated mountain, fifty versts in circuit, and scarped on all sides, the only practicable approach being strongly fortified.

On the summit was a broken table-land, containing a large village with five mosques and some thousand inhabitants, besides Shamil and his 400 warriors. When the whole mountain was fairly invested, the Prince sent a 'pour-parler' to Shamil, pointing out that he must inevitably surrender, but offering him, to save the effusion of blood, very honourable terms, viz.—That he should surrender to the Prince, and should then be permitted to retire to Mecca or Constantinople, or wherever he wished. These terms Shamil agreed to at first, but afterwards he evaded them, claiming to be allowed to go away without making his personal submission. It consequently became necessary to storm the heights, or at any rate to carry the approaches. This was done with considerable loss, and supported by a heavy cannonade. The Prince said that the stream, which fell from the heights in a series of cascades, was perfectly red with the blood of the slain. No great effect, however, could have been produced by merely carrying the approaches, as the strongest positions were the village, and especially the large fortified post within it, had not a Georgian general, Prince Melikoff, at the head of some thousands of soldiers, succeeded in scaling the scarp in the rear, and thus appearing on the crest of the precipice behind the village, while the main body of the Russians was preparing to attack in front. This was on the third day. The Prince now again sent to warn all non-belligerents to quit the village, and offered Shamil his life, and his life only, if he would surrender before the assault was sounded. The whole of the day was spent in parleys, while the women for the most part quitted the village. Shamil tried hard for the same terms which he might have had before about retiring to Mecca, &c., but the Prince would promise him nothing beyond his life, all else to remain with the Emperor. Shamil threatened several times to kill his wives, and then with his 400 picked warriors die fighting sword in hand, as his retreat was entirely cut off. He came out once to give himself up, but was alarmed at the appearance of the Russians on all sides, and again retired to the mosque. The Prince could now hardly restrain the troops, who were most anxious to assault; but he swore that any man should be shot who moved from the ranks, his great object being, as it would seem, to obtain Shamil *alive*; and this for a very good reason, since, so long as Shamil lives, no other Mushid can be chosen by the *Murids* in his stead. At length, when the Prince's patience was well nigh exhausted, a general shout arose from the soldiers on the heights over the village, and he (the Prince) made sure that his men had broken their ranks and made a rush upon the village. But no, his staff assured him that not a single soldier had stirred, and, the next minute, the roar of triumph was explained by the issuing from the village of forty white-turbaned figures with Shamil at their head. The troops had seen them as they issued from the mosque, and were not sorry to be spared the heavy loss of an assault. Shamil, the Prince admitted, had quite lost his presence of mind when he gave himself up. Shame, in the first place, at having broken faith on the previous occasion, perhaps also at not having committed suicide, consternation at the infuriated looks of the soldiers on all sides of him, horror at what might possibly be the fate of the females left in the mosque—all this combined to blanch his cheek and make his lips quiver; but the Prince was quite indignant at the imputation of cowardice that had been cast on him from his pitiable appearance at this supreme moment of his career: 'We are all men,' he said, 'and who could have maintained an unmoved aspect under such circumstances?' Shamil's followers were at once disarmed, and the Russian officers wished to do the same to the chief himself, but the Prince would not permit it. He bade him retain his arms, told him again that his life was safe, placed him on a horse by his side, and took him to the tents which were pitched not very far off on the plateau. The 'Murids' in the mosque were not interfered with further than being assured of pardon, and offered terms of service, which they gratefully accepted; they were now [the Prince said] Russia's most devoted soldiers. Shamil was also allowed to communicate with his wives, and assure them of his safety. While the Prince was writing his despatch that evening to the Emperor, he heard the order passed from Shamil's tent, which was close by, to his *maître d'hôtel*—'A cup of tea for Shamil.' 'Bravo,' said the Prince, 'he is coming to himself.' Presently there was a call for another cup of tea for Shamil. 'So,' said the Prince, 'he seems thirsty after his day's work.' He then sent the *maître d'hôtel* to know if there was anything else the prisoner wished for; and the gratifying assurance came back that Shamil was voraciously hungry, and would be only too glad for a plate of pilau, let it be cooked by whoever would; and accordingly in another half hour, the holy man having put all punctilio aside once and for ever, was up to his elbows in a steaming infidel pilau!

The Prince, as might be naturally expected, was not a little proud of his exploit, and wished much to know what was thought of it in Europe. I told him it was compared to the capture of Abdul Kader; but he hardly seemed to think this a compliment, saying that Shamil was a much greater man than the Arab chief, as the Caucasus was a more difficult country than Algeria, and this capture was far more important to Russian interests in Asia than the other chief's to French interests in Africa. But, when I wished to draw him out as to what interests he alluded to, he fell back on the old topics of internal improvements, civilisation, commerce, &c.

Thursday, October 27.—Left Tiflis after a very agreeable sojourn. Baron Finot, the French Consul-General, furnished me with much valuable information; and I had also some most interesting conversations with Khannitoff (?), the result of which will be embodied in despatches to the Government. Made a short stage the first day, having to send back a carriage I bought at Tiflis, which turned out a complete 'sell,' the springs having broken during the first stage, and the whole affair threatening to crumble to pieces. It cost me about 130*l*., and will probably fetch about half the sum if sold at Tiflis. From the commencement of the district of Kazakh, where we leave the Kur and turn to the mountains, the population becomes almost exclusively Mohammedan. Here, too, the road turns off down the Kur to Baku.

Saturday, October 30.—Crossed the Dilligan Pass, steep but not very difficult. Scenery very beautiful, but not so fine as at Suram. At the top, a village of Sectaries. Here the Gokcha Lake appears in full view, and forms a most striking feature of the landscape. Count Simonich, a son of my old Persian friend, and aide-de-camp to the Governor of Erivan, met me here, being deputed to escort me to the frontier. Halted at another flourishing village of Sectaries on the lake, close to the point where the Erivan river issues from it. Were regaled with a splendid dish of salmon-trout, which the Sectaries caught for us—they netted thirty at a single haul. There are four sorts of trout in the lake, and I should take it to be the finest spot for fly-fishing in the world. The water is quite sweet. There is one charming little island in it, with a monastery, a most picturesque object; but no boats, or, at any rate, only a few crazy fishing craft, belonging to the Sectaries, which never venture very far out. The length of the lake is about forty-five miles, but the breadth is only five or six. General Khannitoff is now trying to bring a canal from the lake along the line of the river, but at a higher level, to water the gardens of Erivan, the Zengui river flowing in a deep bed, and being of no use for irrigation.

Sunday, October 31.—Got into Erivan in good time, a continual descent from the top of the Dilligan Pass, and were received in General Kulubiakine's house —at least I was, and the rest of the party were put up in the Club house close by. Nothing could equal the kindness and attention of the General, who, though somewhat rough and severe, is thoroughly honest and energetic, and an exceedingly well-read and accomplished gentleman altogether. His library astonished me, and he was perfectly *au courant* as to everything passing in the world at large, whether political, literary, or scientific.

The remainder of Sir Henry's journey—from Erivan to Tabriz and thence to Teheran—is not to be found in his papers, perhaps was never written. It is among the chief difficulties of his biographer that the papers which he has left behind him are so disconnected and fragmentary, presenting large and frequent gaps, and seldom continuous for above a fortnight or three weeks. There is now before me what purports to be a diary kept during his Teheran residence, from January 1, 1860, to May 18, when he finally quitted the Persian capital. But it contains one omission of twenty-six days (January 26 to February 20), two of fourteen days each (February 22 to March 7, and March 18 to March 31), and several of shorter duration. Also, it breaks off suddenly in the middle of a sentence, on May 6, twelve days before the actual termination of the residence. It is amid such a series of *hiatus valde deflendi* that the writer of a Memoir of Sir Henry Rawlinson has to work his way.

Sir Henry reached Teheran towards the close of 1859, and was given a grand reception by the Shah, who remembered his former residence in the country. The following is the account published of the reception by the 'Journal de Constantinople'[1] :—

> His Excellency was shown all the marks of respect due to his quality as Ambassador of the Queen of England. He was met at a village several miles distant from Teheran by several members of the Government, having at their head the General of Division, Mehemet

---

[1] See the *Journal* of January 16, 1860.

Khan Envir Toman, a very distinguished personage, whose breast was literally covered with decorations. The representatives of the European Powers likewise awaited Sir Henry Rawlinson's coming on the same spot. Most of the European residents of Teheran were there besides. A large tent, covered with rich ornaments, was erected, and in it his Excellency rested himself for a while, and partook of some of the delicacies of Persian confectionery. After taking refreshment in this tent, he proceeded to the city escorted by a numerous following, and attended by a body of irregular cavalry, a squadron of regular troops, and by the grooms of the Shah, leading twelve blood horses, which his Majesty had presented to the British Ambassador. His Excellency, on arriving at the residence of the British Embassy, received complimentary visits from all the great officers of State, and on the Saturday following all the members of the Mission were received by the Shah. His Majesty deigned to accord to the Ambassador a most friendly reception. Sir Henry responded by a speech in the Persian language which produced a great impression on all who heard it; after which he offered for his Majesty's acceptance some magnificent presents from her Majesty the Queen of England. In a word, the arrival of Sir Henry Rawlinson was the occasion of a general *fête* in the capital of Persia, and his reception was of the most flattering kind.

The new Minister could not but be gratified by a reception of so warm and friendly a character. He had himself a most kindly feeling towards the Persian people, whose merits he estimated more highly, and whose defects he viewed more leniently, than most Europeans. Any satisfaction, however, arising from this quarter was quickly damped by news which reached him early in the New Year from his political friends in London, of a most disquieting and disagreeable nature. There had for some time been a diversity of opinion among English statesmen as to the exact position which Persian affairs ought to hold in connection with the Home Government and its several departments. On the one side it was argued that our interest in Persia depended mainly on her and our relations with Russia and the Russian autocrat, and that therefore Persian affairs ought to be regarded as one branch of foreign affairs, and as consequently falling properly under the control of the Foreign Office. On the other, it was urged that we were really interested in Persia, far more on account of her connection with India, than of any relations in which she stood towards Russia, and that the Indian Minister was therefore the proper person to have charge of such Persian affairs as came naturally under the consideration of the British Government. It was well known that this latter view was that of Sir Henry Rawlinson, and that it had no stronger or more zealous advocate. If he had not made it a condition of his acceptance of the office of Persian Envoy, that the Embassy should continue under the control of the Indian Minister, he had at any rate accepted his office while such was the arrangement; he was known to be greatly in favour of it, and naturally his friends, so soon as it was mooted that a change was contemplated, wrote to warn him of what was probably coming. The intelligence reached him on January 8, 1860, and was most disagreeable. Here had he just, at a considerable expense, and with great risk to health, made a journey of above 4,000 miles, in inclement weather, under certain quite legitimate expectations, and, within a fortnight of his arrival at his post, he finds the most important of these expectations threatened with disappointment—his journey of 4,000 miles taken for no purpose, to no end, except that it might be almost immediately retraced at the hottest period of the year, and under circumstances which would raise in many minds a suspicion of failure and disgrace, for he had no doubt in his own mind as to what course it behoved him to pursue should the threatened change be made. He must at once resign his post. Not that he would be precipitate. His resignation should not be sent in until the rumoured transfer was a *fait accompli*. But he would at once manifest his own determination. On the very day of his receiving the intelligence, he sat down and wrote an official letter of resignation, which he enclosed in a cover to a private friend, who was instructed to keep it by him until the transfer had been effected, and then to send it in without delay. The following is a copy of this letter of resignation :—

Teheran, February 20th, 1860.

My Lord,—When I accepted the appointment of H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Persia, in the spring of last year, I had no personal object to serve, either of advancement or emolument. I took office simply as a matter of public duty, in connection with my immediate line of employment.

As I had been for more than twenty-eight years in the Indian service, and for four years in the Indian Department of the Government at home, it seemed to me to be in harmony with my previous career that I should take on myself the duties of the Teheran Mission under the direction of the India Office ; and I also thought that as the conduct of our relations with the Court of Persia would, under the control of the India Office, be naturally placed on the same liberal footing, in regard to presents and contingent expenditure, which, in deference to Oriental usage, is sanctioned for all other diplomatic establishments in the East, I might be able to recover for the British Mission at Teheran that influential position which it formerly occupied, and thus do good service to my country. These views, however, have been entirely altered by the re-transfer of the Persian Mission to the Foreign Office, and the instructions consequent on that re-transfer, which are communicated to me in your Lordship's despatches, No. 1 and No. 4, of the 1st and 12th ultimo respectively. In the first place, I find myself taken out of the line to which I belong, and attached to a department on which I have no claim, and with the regulations and traditions of which I am comparatively unacquainted; and secondly, I am required to observe certain principles of action as established for the general guidance of H.M.'s Diplomatic Service, which I conscientiously believe to be inapplicable to Persia, and to be incompatible with the acquisition or retention of influence at this Court.

As the conditions under which I took office have been thus essentially altered by circumstances beyond my control, and as I can no longer indulge a hope of being able to serve in this country either with credit to myself or with advantage to the Government, I take this first opportunity, after being officially informed of the re-transfer of our relations with Persia to the Foreign Office, respectfully to tender my resignation of the post of H.M.'s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of the Shah.

It will rest with H.M.'s Government to decide on the exact period of my retirement from the charge of the Persian Mission. If your Lordship should be pleased to dispense with my services at once, I shall be glad to move from Teheran before the hot weather sets in. If, on the other hand, there should be any matter of urgency which may require my presence, or your Lordship should think it desirable on general grounds that I should wait to be relieved by the Minister who may be appointed to succeed me, then I shall be prepared to remain the summer at Teheran, and under any circumstances I shall, of course, consider myself bound to follow out, with the utmost exactitude, your Lordship's instructions with regard to presents and economy of expenditure during my remaining brief tenure of office.

I have the honour to be your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) H. C. Rawlinson,
Envoy and Minister.

Meantime he waited. The plan for the transfer of Persian affairs to the Foreign Office at first 'hung fire'—the Indian Council objecting to continue the payment of 12,000*l.* a year for the expenses of the Persian Mission if the control of it was to be taken out of their hands. But after a time this difficulty was overcome, and the transfer was made.[1] Sir Henry's letter of resignation was at once delivered to the Foreign Minister, Lord John Russell. A faint effort was made to induce him to reconsider it, but at the same time he was informed that, if he declined to do so, his letter would be laid before the Queen, and his successor appointed. No hope was held out that the Ministerial policy would undergo any alteration, and as Sir Henry highly disapproved of it, he felt it imperative on him to throw up his post.

---

[1] Sir Henry received information of the transfer in the subjoined letter from Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, dated December 3, 1859:—

'Dear Sir Henry,—I desired either Sir G. Clerk or Mr. Haye to write to you by the last mail to apprise you that we had determined to re-transfer the Persian Mission to the Foreign Office. This was done on account of the constant communications with the French, Russian, and Turkish Ministers which you must have, and the probable necessity (which had indeed arisen in one or two matters) of communicating with the Courts of those countries, or with their Ministers in London.

'I am sorry that our official intercourse has been of so short a duration, but I hope that you will write to me on all matters connected with India and Afghanistan; because though the Foreign Minister is to be the organ of communication, I am strongly of opinion that the Indian Minister must have the principal *say* in the direction of affairs.

'I have just seen the Persian Envoy, who seems to be a very friendly, good sort of man. He speaks very fair, assures me that they have given up all notion of Herat, and hopes that we shall keep the Russians out. I assured him that you were Persia's best friend, and that all we desired or wished was to be on good terms with her, and that our interests were the same, and that as long as we agreed we had nothing to fear.

'Yours truly,
'C. Wood.'

The reasons for his disapproval were two-fold. In the first place, he regarded the transfer as practically sure to be followed by an entire change in the character of the officials to whom the administration of Persian affairs, so far as they fell under British control, would be henceforth committed. Hitherto, Indian officers or civilians had been entrusted with almost all such appointments, and the result had been on the whole most satisfactory. Under the Foreign Office, members of the diplomatic service, who had passed their lives at European Courts, and in the study and practice of European methods, would, he believed, take the place of these Indian officials, and their ignorance of Oriental manners and ideas must, he thought, lead to continual misunderstandings and difficulties. Secondly, it had been the established practice in Persia during the twenty-five years that he had known the country, and for a long time previously, to look for valuable presents from all the foreign embassies permitted to reside in Persian territory, and to allow the relations with the countries represented to be largely influenced by the number and character of these presents. Now the Foreign Office did not permit the giving of any presents, and it seemed to Sir Henry Rawlinson, that a sudden and complete change in this respect would seriously injure the friendly relations between Persia and England which he had been so largely instrumental in establishing.[1] So strongly did he feel on this subject, that, in spite of the veto of the Foreign Office, to which he was now responsible, he, on March 17, according to custom, sent presents of the usual character to the principal Persian Ministers—gold watches to the Foreign Minister and Mustafa et Mamalik, and to Sipah Salar his last rifle, and 'a first-class hunting glove.'[2]

Meanwhile, as etiquette required, Sir Henry continued to discharge the manifold duties of his office, without allowing a whisper to escape as to the insecure tenure on which he now held it; and it was not until May 5 that this reserve was laid aside, and Sir Henry's resignation, together with the appointment of his successor, was made known both at the Court and at the Embassy. At the Court, the effect produced was extraordinary.

'The news fell on Teheran,' says Sir Henry, 'like a thunderbolt, being totally unexpected by any one. I sent to Ferrukh Khan in the morning, but could not see him, as he had just been summoned by the Shah. In the afternoon we had our meeting, and I found he had just received an autograph note from the Shah, which I read. His Majesty said:—"The Minister for Foreign Affairs has just told me that Rawlinson Sahib is recalled. What is the meaning of this? I am dreadfully vexed. By Allah, I have been in such a state ever since hearing this news as I never was in before. See Rawlinson at once, and ascertain particulars, and let me know the result." I explained the affair to Ferrukh Khan as well as I could, but could not expect that he would be reconciled to the change as a mere departmental arrangement. Here everything is personal, and the Persians cannot help thinking that my being recalled, or permitted to leave, indicates a change of policy. Ferrukh Khan's suspicion evidently was, that the Government thought me too much in the Persian interests, and wished to have a sterner representative. It was arranged that I should ask for an audience of the Shah to-morrow, and endeavour to pacify his Majesty by assuring him that I could better push his interests in England than in Persia, and also by suggesting that, if anything serious occurred, I might be sent out again to set matters straight.'

---

[1] Also, if England was the only power that gave no presents, her position, in comparison with that of other nations, would necessarily deteriorate in the eyes of the Persians.

[2] See Sir H. Rawlinson's Teheran Diary for the first five months of 1860, p. 32.

There is a later entry to the following effect:—

Sunday, May 6.—To-day I saw the King in private. He was in a great state of annoyance and consternation; but, after a few explanations, he went into the discussion of political matters with his usual frankness and earnestness.

The fears and suspicions of the Shah were by these means quieted, and, though it is impossible to say that the relations between Great Britain and Persia continued as cordial under the new arrangements as they had been under the old, yet it must be granted that the difference was not very great or very perceptible. Persia is attracted to England by her hopes, driven towards Russia by her fears, and must always, while she retains a shadow of independence, waver between them. Her policy, like that of most countries, is purely selfish; and, though personal considerations may have a certain amount of weight in determining her course at any given period, they will never deflect it far from the line of greatest self-advantage.

The following fuller account of the intercourse between the Shah and Sir Henry at this period is contained in a despatch addressed by the latter to Lord John Russell on May 23, 1860, five days after leaving Teheran:—

Casveen, May 23, 1860.

My Lord,—I have the honour to report that I left Teheran upon the 18th instant for the purpose of meeting Mr. Alison at Tabriz.

Before taking my departure from the capital I had three different audiences of H.M. the Shah. At the first audience, which was strictly private, and to which I was specially invited by the Shah, I took occasion to disabuse his Majesty of the view, which, as I was informed, his advisers of the Russian party had been labouring to impress on him, that a change of Ministers indicated an entire change of policy on the part of the British Government towards Persia. I told the Shah I had every reason to believe that the conduct upon my part which had gained his Majesty's confidence, and placed the relations between the two States upon the most intimate footing, had been approved of by her Majesty's Government, and would be pursued in the same honest and earnest spirit by my successor; and I added, that personal feelings and conduct were, after all, of very little real consequence, as a Foreign Minister necessarily gave his first and best attention to the interests of the Government which he represented, and regulated his language and demeanour by the instructions which he received from it. Unfortunately in Persia, where private considerations are paramount in every walk of life, it is impossible to divest a Minister's character altogether of personal attributes, and his Majesty was thus pleased to express greater disappointment at my retirement than it would be becoming in me to repeat; but he admitted the justice of my observations as to the superior importance of State policy to all other matters of a private or individual nature, and having made up his mind, he said, if he met with any encouragement, to stand or fall by the English alliance, he sincerely hoped that the seed which had been sown during the last few months would, under Mr. Alison's administration, ripen into an abundant harvest.

At the next audience, which occurred two or three days subsequently, and at which his Majesty invited Ferrukh Khan and the Minister for Foreign Affairs to be present, in order to give to his observations more of an official character, he brought out a paper of memoranda which he had drawn up with his own hand, and which referred to various matters that he was most anxious I should present to her Majesty's Government, and should explain in full detail. The several matters contained in the paper were then argued at considerable length by his Majesty and his two chief Ministers with a view to my becoming fully acquainted with their policy in all its bearings, and the next day the memoranda were sent to me—somewhat modified, although not sufficiently, according to suggestions offered by myself—for presentation to your Lordship on my arrival in England. As I have thought it desirable, however, that no time should be lost in putting your Lordship in possession of the views of the Persian Government thus confidentially communicated, I now venture to send a translation of the memoranda as an enclosure to the present despatch, and I further take the liberty of appending such explanatory remarks in half margin as may supersede the necessity of an immediate personal reference to myself. His Majesty directed Ferrukh Khan further to inform me that the topics embodied in this paper of memoranda would be discussed with your Lordship by the Mushir ed Dowleh on his arrival in England, but that he wished me to pave the way to negotiation by the full and detailed explanations which it would be in my power to afford.

Finally, on the day preceding my departure I was admitted to my official audience of him, accompanied by all the officers of her Majesty's Legation, and I then presented to his Majesty Captain Lewis Pelly, as the officer who would remain at Teheran to conduct the current duties of the Mission pending Mr. Alison's arrival, and Mr. Ronald Thomson as about to accompany me on leave of absence to England. I subsequently presented Captain Pelly to Ferrukh Khan, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and my European colleagues, and I am now travelling to Tabriz by the regular stages, pursuant to the arrangements repeated in my despatch of the 10th instant. If I should reach Tabriz before Mr. Alison, I shall endeavour to arrange so that our meeting may take place upon the frontiers, but I shall not quit the Persian soil until I have duly made over charge of her Majesty's Mission to my successor, and given him all the information in my power with regard to the duties on which he is about to enter.

H. C. Rawlinson.

Twelve days after the receipt of the despatch which informed him of the acceptance of his resignation and the nomination of his successor, Sir Henry Rawlinson quitted Teheran, and set out upon his return journey. There was fortunately, among the *employés* of the Embassy, a young relative of his, Captain (afterwards Sir Lewis) Pelly, who, having time at his disposal, was able to take much business off his hands, and so render him important services at this conjuncture. Sir Henry bade a last adieu to the Persian capital on the morning of May 18, and, accompanied by a large escort, rode off from the city gates into the open country. All the dependents of the British Embassy, all the Russian, French, and Prussian *attachés*, and a considerable number of the other European residents, anxious to do him honour, swelled the crowd which followed him, and made his departure from the city almost as magnificent as his entrance into it had been. A *callioon* was smoked at the race-course, and then the foreign portion of the *cortège* withdrew; but the staff still rode on for another half hour. Then came the final leave-taking. It was 'with real regret' that Sir Henry shook hands with the members of his staff,[1] more especially with Captain Pelly and with Sultan Khan, towards whom he felt a warm attachment.

The Persian Embassy was now a thing of the past; but it remained to be seen what opinion would be generally formed as to Sir Henry's conduct of it, and especially as to his conduct in suddenly throwing it up. His intimate friends regarded him as fully justified. One wrote under the date of April 24, 1860:—

> I found here your letter of March. I do not wonder at your throwing it up. H—— has indisposed most of the service, and has made absurd regulations, limiting Secretaries and Paid Attachés to two months' leave a year. Beyond that, they lose half their too small salaries. . . . . Last Sunday I had a long talk about you with Lord Wensleydale and Mrs. Lowther. She goes back to Berlin in a fortnight. I forget whether I wrote to you that I had had long talks with the Eltchys from two Central Asian States, and from that think the progress of the Russians much exaggerated, and that much might be done (if in the proper way) to ward and fend them off. But prejudices are very strong here; and people like H——, who think they know all about everything, don't want to hear other people's ideas; so I shall keep them to myself. As I told the Eltchys, nobody in England but you and me knew where their residences were, or cared a d——n about them.

Private opinions like this were not, however, enough. Sir Henry's political career could but be considerably affected by the views that should generally prevail on these important points; and it soon became evident to him that for his own reputation and future usefulness he must insist on publicity being given to the circumstances under which he had acted, and to the judgments which had been passed upon his conduct in high quarters.

---

[1] MS. Journal kept on the journey back from Teheran to London.

Before quitting Persia, he had received the following letter from Lord John Russell:—

Foreign Office, April 24, 1860.

SIR,—I stated to you in my despatch, No. 30, of the 5th instant, that I would acquaint you as soon as possible with the arrangement which might be made for supplying your place as her Majesty's Representative at the Court of Persia, and with the time at which you would be at liberty to quit Teheran.

You will probably have received information on both of these points from Sir Henry Bulwer, and I have therefore only now to instruct you to announce to the Persian Government that the Queen has been pleased to appoint Mr. Alison to be her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of the Shah, and to express her Majesty's hope that this appointment will prove agreeable to his Persian Majesty.

Mr. Alison will probably reach Teheran very shortly after you receive this despatch; and as soon afterwards as you have taken leave of the Shah, you may quit Teheran on your return to England.

You will make over to Mr. Alison the archives, ciphers, and other public property.

As your functions will cease on the arrival of Mr. Alison, I reserve for my correspondence with him such observations and instructions as are called for by your various despatches from No. 15 to No. 37 of the general series, and from No. 4 to No. 9 of the secret and confidential series, but I have the satisfaction to acquaint you generally that the Queen entirely approves your proceedings as reported in these despatches, and your conduct in the execution of your duties as her Majesty's Representative at the Court of Persia.

For myself personally, I take leave to express my regret that our official intercourse should thus early have been brought to an end. Your knowledge and abilities would have induced me to place the utmost reliance on your information and advice.

I am, with great truth and regard,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
J. Russell.

Had official etiquette permitted of the publication of this document, nothing further would have been necessary, or perhaps even desirable. But official etiquette sternly forbade any such publication. In default of it, Rumour was free to suggest any such explanation of what had occurred as seemed good to her; and it was not long before Sir Henry was informed by his correspondents in England of various versions of the story which were afloat in English society. The form most prevalent was, that the Envoy had made some important diplomatic blunder, on account of which he had been recalled and superseded, so that he was coming home in disgrace, and could not look for any further political employment, whatever party should be in power. The exact nature of the blunder remained a mystery, with respect to which everyone was free to make any conjecture that he pleased, and various conjectures were ventured on. Sir Henry, in reply to his correspondents, at once suggested that a question, or questions, should be asked in the House of Commons on the subject, and a Ministerial explanation required. He felt confident, that though his action with respect to his colleagues might incur some blame, yet the public success of his Mission could not but be fully recognised. The question was accordingly asked by Mr. H. D. Seymour, the member for Poole, on the evening of June 1, 1860, and elicited from Lord John Russell the following very satisfactory reply:—

> The first question relating to Persia was put to me by my hon. friend, the member for Poole, and is connected with another, which was asked by my hon. friend the member for Liskeard. In the first place I should say that the story which my friend, the member for Poole, has heard—that there were differences of opinion between her Majesty's Government and Sir H. Rawlinson as to the policy to be pursued in Persia, and that in consequence Sir H. Rawlinson has been recalled—is altogether fabulous. Sir H. Rawlinson is a very able man, and exceedingly well acquainted with the East. The influence which he exercised in Persia was very considerable; his policy was entirely approved by her Majesty's Government, and I was in hopes that he would have continued to discharge the functions of her Majesty's Minister in Persia. The cause of his return is that to which my hon. friend, the member for Liskeard, alluded. My noble friend at the head of the Government (Lord Palmerston), on finding that the affairs of Persia had been committed to the Secretary of State for India, inquired of my right hon. friend, Sir C. Wood, and myself, what we thought of such an arrangement. We both said that we were ready to abide by his judgment, and either to continue the arrangement as it stood when he took office, or change it. My noble friend, after taking some time for consideration, said he thought the chief part of the business in Persia, though there is other business, no doubt, connected with India, was to settle and carry on the relations between Persia and this country and Russia. That certainly is the case so far as my experience goes. If there is a question between Persia and Russia, the English Minister is asked his opinion upon it, and whenever there is a question between Persia and England, the Russian Minister is consulted.

My noble friend, therefore, came to the decision that it was better that the Persian Mission should again be placed under the Foreign Office. I accepted that responsibility; and I was then certainly in hopes that Sir H. Rawlinson would have remained in charge of that Mission. Not long after the intelligence that the change was about to be made, however, had reached Persia, a gentleman in the Foreign Office informed me that he had received a private letter from Sir H. Rawlinson, telling him that as soon as the change was officially announced—and the official announcement had at that time gone out—he should resign his office and come home. I do not know that I should fairly represent his objections if I attempted to do so, but I believe that they turned chiefly upon the difference between the mode of conducting business in the India and in the Foreign Offices, and one of them certainly referred to the giving of presents, which had never been permitted by the Foreign Office. After a time, Sir H. Rawlinson informed me by a private letter that he had sent in his resignation, and at the same time I received the formal resignation of his office. I did not think it was desirable that he should remain in Persia after it was known that he was about to resign, and I therefore immediately advised her Majesty to accept the resignation of Sir H. Rawlinson, and to appoint in his place a gentleman whom I have never had the good fortune to see, and with whom I have no acquaintance whatever, but a gentleman who has been long in the diplomatic service in the East, whose despatches (when he has been in charge of the Embassy at Constantinople) and reports I have often had occasion to receive, and whose intelligence I have admired—Mr. Alison. The hon. gentleman will therefore see that Sir Henry Rawlinson has not been recalled—that he sent in his own resignation, and that for reasons which, although satisfactory to his own mind, I cannot but regret, he no longer serves the Queen in Persia.[1]

---

[1] See the *Times* of June 2, 1860.

Before this ‘plain unvarnished tale,’ the idle rumours with respect to a ‘scrape,’ or ‘diplomatic blunder,’ into which the Envoy was supposed to have fallen, faded away; and his political career suffered no serious damage from the circumstances under which he quitted the Queen’s service in 1860.

CHAPTER XIII

RETURN TO ENGLAND—RESUMPTION OF CUNEIFORM STUDIES—COMMENCEMENT OF REGULAR WORK AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM—RELATIONS WITH MR. GEORGE SMITH—ENGAGEMENT TO EDIT THE 'CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS OF WESTERN ASIA'—PUBLICATION OF VOL. I., 1861—OTHER CUNEIFORM PUBLICATIONS—MARRIAGE—WEDDING TOUR—RETURN TO LONDON AND LIFE THERE (1861–1864)

THE retired Envoy reached England on his return from Teheran towards the end of July 1860, after an absence of not quite twelve months. At first it seemed to him that his occupation was gone. 'This abrupt change,' he says in a slight outline of his life now before me, 'threw me out of all public employment for the time'; and public employment had been his almost continuous occupation for above thirty-two years. But the active brain and busy hands which for this long space of time had worked almost without intermission on public affairs, were not to be satisfied without finding themselves a sphere in which they might continue their exercise, and a sphere almost as engrossing as that which seemed now closed to them. Literature, and especially the branch of it which he had made his own—cuneiform investigation—hitherto pursued at intervals as an amusement and a distraction, presented itself to the public 'servant out of place' as a worthy field in which to exercise his powers, and find for them full and satisfactory occupation. On reaching London, and establishing himself there, in the summer of 1860 he came to this conclusion, and proceeded to make such arrangements with the authorities of the British Museum as should give him constant employment on the cuneiform documents, a convenient place to work in, and an intelligent assistant, for as long a time as might seem to him desirable. It was understood that his chief work was to be the editing and publishing of 'The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia' in the original languages and characters, with a brief notice in English of the general nature and bearing of each document so published. The main responsibility for the publication was to rest with Sir Henry Rawlinson himself; but he was to be assisted by Mr. Edward Norris, of the Foreign Office, in portions of the work, and further, he was to have the constant help of a working subordinate, who was to attend at the Museum daily, and to take his orders from Sir Henry. The great need of this official arose from the nature and condition of the documents, which, consisting in the main of clay cylinders and tablets of a friable character, had been broken into pieces, and the pieces often mixed together, during their transport from Mesopotamia, either round the Cape of Good Hope or by way of the Suez Canal, to England. For the decipherment of the documents it was necessary, in the first place, that they should be rightly pieced together, and this was a work requiring vast care, great delicacy of hand, and much knowledge. Sir Henry's assistant, Mr. George Smith, was employed to sort the fragments, and tentatively to piece together such as seemed to him to belong to each other, leaving it for Sir Henry to determine, by his knowledge of the character and the language, whether the tentative conjunctions were correct or no. Mr. Smith acquired gradually, by long practice, a very remarkable skill in the execution of the task assigned to him, and ultimately, by taking advantage of his opportunities, gained such a knowledge of the different cuneiform characters and languages, as entitled him to assume the position of an independent decipherer and translator. Unfortunately he was early lost to science, having succumbed to the fatigues and dangers of Oriental travel, when sent out to superintend the Mesopotamian 'diggings' in the year 1876.

During the years 1861–4, Sir Henry Rawlinson continued to be a diligent attendant at the British Museum, and a diligent student of the cuneiform documents, often poring for hours over the fragments,[1] and in cases of difficulty having frequent consultations with Mr. E. Norris. The publication of 'The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia' progressed steadily under his superintendence, vol. i. making its appearance in 1861, vol. ii. in 1866, vol. iii. in 1870, vol. iv. in 1875, vol. v. part i. in 1880, and vol. v. part ii. in 1884. At the same time he was constantly addressing communications to the scientific journals—the 'Asiatic,' the 'Geographical,' the 'Literary Gazette,' the 'Monthly Review,' the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,' and, above all, the 'Athenæum,' to which most of his more important discoveries were in the first instance communicated. A list of twenty-three contributions to scientific journals during these years has been compiled by a German Orientalist, Mr. Paul Haupt; and even this is far from complete. The work was extremely laborious, and by degrees became almost intolerably irksome.[1] Many of the tablets were inscribed in a character so minute as to be indecipherable without a strong magnifier, the employment of which for several hours day after day was a severe strain upon the eyes of the decipherer. Important discoveries came in but slowly, since the great harvest had been by this time reaped, and it was only left for those who still laboured in the field to glean occasionally a few handfuls. Still, from time to time unexpected treasures revealed themselves, and the tired explorer was rewarded for weeks or months of barren toil by some more or less valuable discovery. Such, for instance, was the discovery of the 'Assyrian Eponym Canon,' which Sir Henry made in the course of the years 1861–2, and communicated fully to the 'Athenæum' in May of the latter year.[2] Interest was widely awakened in a document which seemed likely to place Asiatic chronology on a firm and solid basis from nearly the close of the Assyrian Empire almost to the time of Solomon; and controversy, which naturally follows upon interest, was keenly stirred. Such scholars as Hincks, Oppert, Bosanquet, Vaux, G. Smith, were roused to take part in a discussion felt to be of first-rate historic importance, and for a time the attention of the literary world was riveted on the remarkable 'find.' Less important, but still of considerable interest, was the discovery, made in 1864, of a number of 'Bilingual Readings, Cuneiform and Phœnician,' found by Sir Henry upon other tablets in the Museum, and given to the world through the columns of the 'Asiatic Society's Journal' early in the ensuing year.

---

[1] 'I have been employed,' he says in a letter to the *Athenæum*, 'at least twenty days during the present year, turning over crumbling fragments at the Museum, with the view of ascertaining if they belong to historical or chronological tablets' (*Athenæum* of July 15, 1862).

---

[1] 'I am very desirous of doing something definite with regard to Cuneiforms, but find the work sadly irksome' (MS. Diary of 1862).

[2] See the *Athenæum* of May 31, 1862, and July 19 of the same year.

Sir Henry had now exceeded the term of middle life, and felt that, if he were not content to pass a solitary old age, the time was come when he must change his condition, and take upon himself the responsibilities of matrimony. On September 2, 1862, he was married in St. George's Church, Hanover Square, to Louisa Caroline Harcourt Seymour, youngest daughter of Henry Seymour, Esq., of Knoyle, Wilts, and 39 Upper Grosvenor Street, W., who was a member of the Duke of Somerset's family. Her brothers, Henry Danby and Alfred, were respectively members for Poole and Totnes, while her two elder sisters were married respectively to Ashford Sandford, Esq., of Nynehead, Taunton, and Philip Pleydell Bouverie, Esq., of Brymore, Bridgwater, and 32 Hill Street, W. The ceremony was performed by the writer of the present Memoir.

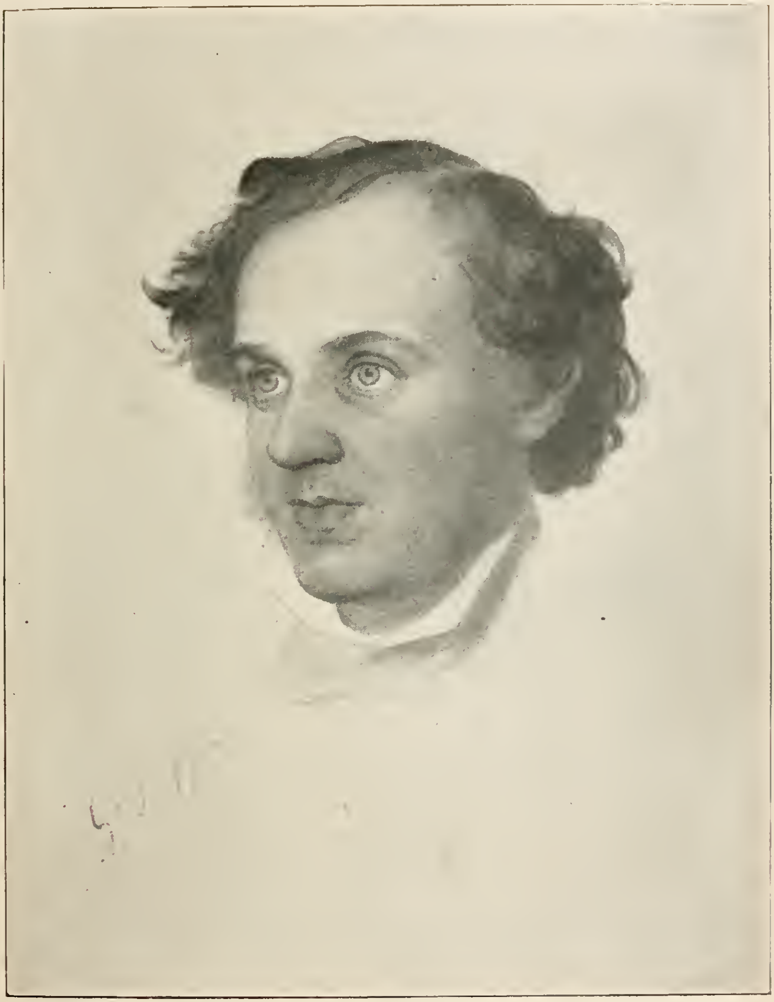
A short tour followed the wedding. The newly married couple visited Venice, Florence, Milan, Rome, and Naples, returning to London towards the close of the year, and taking up their abode at No. 1 Hill Street, Berkeley Square.

From his tour, Sir Henry Rawlinson returned to his cuneiform studies, on most days passing several hours in his workroom at the British Museum, superintending Mr. George Smith's tentative endeavours, and confirming or rejecting his conjectures. After a morning of hard work, he would allow himself to be swept into the whirl of London society. I see by his diaries that he dined out, on an average, five or six times a week, and not infrequently attended afterwards one or even two evening parties. But he mostly complains that it was dull work. What lent a certain amount of interest to it, however, was the contact into which it brought him with persons eminent in all the various walks of life—with statesmen, such as Mr. Gladstone, Mr. D'Israeli, Lord Palmerston, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Salisbury, and the Duke of Argyll; with authors and artists, such as Dean Milman, Dean Stanley, Lord Houghton, Bishop Wilberforce, Millais, Leighton, Watts, Herkomer, Froude, Yule, Reeve, &c.; with judges, such as Sir R. Collier and Lord Wensleydale; with diplomats, such as Lord Dufferin, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, M. de Stael, and Count Schouvaloff; and last, not least, with practical men of the world, such as Mr. John Walter, Mr. Delane, Baron Rothschild, Lord Cork, and Lord Sherbrooke. London society, whatever may be its drawbacks, has at any rate the advantage that it draws within its vortex the most gifted minds of all classes, and by the action and reaction of mind upon mind, develops the powers of each to a point otherwise probably unattainable.

CHAPTER XIV

NEGOTIATIONS WITH A VIEW TO RE-ENTERING PARLIAMENT—STANDS FOR FROME AT THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1865—ELECTED—ACTION IN PARLIAMENT—A SPECIMEN SPEECH—'RUSSIAN SCARE'—TAKES UP THE ALARMIST SIDE, AND WRITES FIRST ARTICLE IN 'QUARTERLY' (OCTOBER 1865)—BUSY WITH PARLIAMENTARY DUTIES FROM 1866 TO 1868—RE-APPOINTED TO THE INDIA COUNCIL AS LIFE MEMBER

Occupied, and seemingly engrossed as he was with his cuneiform and other linguistic researches from 1860 to the close of 1864, Sir Henry Rawlinson had been far from content during that space with the position in which he had found himself, and the ends to which it had appeared that his life must henceforth be devoted. He was essentially a man of action. From the age of seventeen to that of fifty he had been actively engaged in practical matters, soldiering, drilling troops, governing unruly subjects, mapping out districts, reporting on the condition of provinces, diplomatising, discussing affairs with men of all classes and of almost all nations and languages, and continually moving from place to place, passing his time chiefly out of doors: now, this life was exchanged for that of the study and the workshop, for laboriously poring over defaced and often almost indecipherable documents, fitting into each other, as it were, the fragments of a puzzle map, filling up the frequent hiatus with more or less reasonable conjectures, cudgelling the brain to supply the exact word suitable to the context, and at the same time of the right size for the place—and all this in a solitude, or a quasi-solitude, with almost no help from others, no collision of mind with mind, of wit with wit, of memory with memory. It is scarcely surprising that so complete a change of life and of occupation, after a while, became 'irksome,' or that a longing arose for a return to the sort of active employment which was at once more habitual, and by nature more congenial. As early as 1862 I find active employment of the old kind openly desiderated, and a return to the India Council, or to the Persian Envoyship, or an appointment to an Indian Governorship suggested. Any one of these three would probably have been accepted at any time between January 1860 and December 1864; but none was offered, probably owing to the offence given by the resignation of the Persian Mission. The candidate for active employment had consequently to turn his thoughts elsewhere, and, as he had already once been in Parliament, it was not unnatural that, on the approach of a general election, he should cast them in the direction of St. Stephen's, and should begin a series of inquiries as to the chances of success in constituencies with which he had more or less connection. Among those most strongly recommended to his notice was that of Frome, in Somersetshire, where his wife's family had some influence, and his friend, Lord Cork, possessed property. Early in 1865 he made up his mind to contest this constituency, and very shortly afterwards commenced his canvass. Success attended his efforts, and, after a sharp struggle, he was elected in July of that year M.P. for the ancient borough of Frome by a satisfactory majority. After some vague threats of a petition, which came to nothing, he took his seat for a second time on



SIR HENRY C. RAWLINSON

AT THE AGE OF 55

From a Drawing by G. F. Watts, R.A.

the benches of St. Stephen's in February 1866, at the opening of the Session. As on the former occasion, he sat and voted as a Liberal—a moderate Liberal—a follower of Lord Palmerston and Lord Stanley, rather than of Mr. Gladstone or Lord John Russell. His special interest was naturally on matters more or less connected with India. In debates upon other subjects he took very little part; but, whenever an Indian topic came to the front and occupied the attention of the House, Sir Henry was sure to rise before the debate closed, and deliver what all felt to be a weighty opinion on the matter under discussion. He jealously watched the movements of Russia in Central Asia, and raised a warning note against her encroachments on more than one occasion.[1] He had an open ear for the complaints of Native Princes against the British authorities, and did not shrink from strongly vindicating their cause when it appeared to him that they had suffered wrong[2] at our hands. He had a keen eye for abuses, and was relentless in his exposure of them.[3] He guarded Indian interests, not only in India itself, but in other connected countries, as in Egypt and Abyssinia. It was to a great extent his interest in India which caused him to throw himself with so much energy into the agitation for an Abyssinian expedition in the year 1867, and drew from him the best speech which he ever delivered in the House of Commons. This speech, which was delivered in a full House on July 26, seems to deserve a place in this Memoir as a specimen of his oratorical style. It is thus reported by Hansard[4]:—

---

[1] Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. clxxxii. p. 421; vol. cxcii. p. 955.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. clxxxv. pp. 827–832; vol. clxxxvii. pp. 1044–9.

[3] *Ibid.* vol. cxci. pp. 427–9.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. clxxxix. p. 237, *et seq.*

In rising to second the motion of the hon. member for Poole (‘That an humble Address be presented to her Majesty, praying her Majesty that proper steps may be taken to procure the release of H.M.'s Consul and other subjects of her Majesty at present held prisoners by the King of Abyssinia, if necessary, by force of arms’), I desire to say in the first place that I cordially agree with my hon. friend as to the inexpediency of entering upon the past history of the Abyssinian difficulty. A retrospect of past events would be merely ‘a ripping up of old sores,’ and could answer no useful purpose; it would at any rate be quite irrelevant to the question before the House. That question, which demands our immediate consideration, and on which the House is now invited to express an opinion, is simply what may be the best means of extricating ourselves from the painful, the humiliating—I may say the intolerable—position which we now occupy in regard to King Theodore of Abyssinia. In explaining this position I will not pretend to follow my hon. friend into a detail of all our grievances. I will merely state in broad and general terms the one great wrong of which we complain. Two *employés* of the Crown, then—one an officer in H.M.'s Consular service, and the other an Envoy, accredited on a special mission to the Court of Abyssinia—are now languishing in chains in a dungeon at Magdala, associated with felons, exposed to every possible indignity, and even torture, and in daily—I might almost say hourly—risk of their lives; and they have been brought into this dreadful state of degradation and suffering, not by any fault of their own, not by any indiscretion or shortcoming of which they may have been guilty, but simply because they have done their duty, loyally and conscientiously, and have carried out to the best of their ability the instructions with which they have been intrusted by the Government they serve. On this plain showing of the case, without any colouring or exaggeration, or any appeal to sentiment, I ask if there can be a difference of opinion as to the obligation, the imperative duty, which devolves on us, of interfering to rescue our officers, and to vindicate the national honour. What, sir, then, can have been the causes that have led to all this hesitation upon our part, that lead us still to hesitate —we, whose boast it has ever been hitherto, that an Englishman, like the old *civis Romanus*, could roam through the world covered by the national ægis, and secured by it against injury or wrong? I have heard, sir, three arguments, and three arguments only, used against sending an expedition to Abyssinia, and endeavouring to rescue our officers by force of arms. I will briefly state these arguments, and then proceed to answer them. Firstly, it is said that by sending an army we endanger the lives of the captives—who, as I am assured, men, women, and children included, amount now to almost fifty in number—since the tyrant, if defeated in the field, or even severely pressed, might execute his captives before finally taking flight and seeking safety in the interior of the country. Secondly, the hazards and difficulties of the expedition are duly weighed, as it is very proper they should be; and the risks attending the despatch of an armed force into the interior of Abyssinia are thought too serious to be encountered; in fact, it is apprehended that, bad as our position now is, it may be rendered still worse by failure; and it is suggested, therefore, that our best policy may be, after all, to remain passive under our present monstrous indignity. And thirdly, in regard to expense, which is also, of course, a very essential consideration, it is maintained by many, as a conclusive argument against war, that, whatever loss we may sustain from the effects of failing to redress our wrongs, such loss cannot be nearly commensurate to the heavy sacrifice both of life and treasure we should incur from engaging in actual hostilities with King Theodore. I will now, sir, proceed to answer these objections. Firstly, in regard to the lives of the captives, it must always be remembered that this proposed appeal to arms is a last resource. We have done everything we could to obtain the release of the prisoners by fair means and we have failed. If we abandon any further effort, and our present inactivity is prolonged, that the prisoners will, one and all, in due course sink under their sufferings is almost a matter of certainty. The question, therefore, resolves itself into a choice of evils. In one case the death of the captives is almost certain; in the other, there is a chance—I might say, a fair chance—of saving them; for, if we look on the favourable side of the picture, it is quite possible—nay, probable—that the prisoners may be surrendered by King Theodore on a mere demonstration being made against him, or at any rate on the first application of real pressure; or, on the other hand, they may be withdrawn from the power of Theodore by some rival chief, who will send them in, as we advance, in order to make his own terms with us. In fact, in the only two parallel cases on record, or at any rate in the only two cases which at present occur to me, I mean the examples of the prisoners in China and the prisoners at Cabul—as our troops advanced into the country, the captives were better rather than worse treated, and in both instances they were ultimately delivered up to us unscathed, as the natural result of our success. Besides, in the case that we are now considering, as far as this question of life is concerned, the parties most interested are undoubtedly the prisoners themselves; and they are, I understand, unanimous in desiring to encounter the risk of our advance, rather than die by inches, as they are now doing in their dungeon at Magdala. I will now, sir, reply to the second objection. With regard to the hazards and difficulties of the undertaking, I do not by any means underrate them. I have taken some pains to acquaint myself, from the best authorities, with the nature of the country to be traversed between the sea coast and Magdala, and I have also collected information with regard to the climate and resources of Abyssinia, and the facilities which exist for obtaining carriage and supplies, and the other requisites for the advance of an army into the interior, and I am obliged to confess, as the result of all my inquiries—I cannot indeed conceal it from myself—that the invasion of Abyssinia from the sea coast would be a most arduous undertaking. But because the undertaking may be arduous, that is no reason that we should shrink from our duty. In thinking over the matter, indeed, from this point of view, I am reminded of the noble and eloquent words which were used by my old commander General Nott, under very similar circumstances, when the difficulties of an onward march were urged against a renewed attempt to relieve Candahar—

'I am obliged to you,' wrote General Nott to his correspondent in the South, 'for pointing out the many difficulties attending our position; but you are aware that it is our first and only duty to overcome difficulties when the national honour and our military reputation are so nearly concerned. Nothing can be done without effort and perseverance.'

Sir, I think it would be premature and impolitic to review at present the possible difficulties of an Abyssinian campaign; I think it is at all times undesirable to discuss in the House of Commons details of military organisation which properly belong to the Executive, and which can only be conveniently arranged and decided on the spot. By whatever route we advance, we shall no doubt meet with difficulties in ascending the table-land of Abyssinia; but I cannot believe that such difficulties are insuperable to the troops who scaled the mountain peaks and passes in the recent Sitana campaign. Besides, the word 'impossible' should be as foreign to our vocabulary as it is said to be to that of the French. Relying, indeed, on the unrivalled efficiency of our Indian Commissariat, and remembering that we should have our base on the sea, from whence unlimited supplies could be thrown into the country, I should feel little doubt but that an energetic and experienced commander, at the head of a force numbering from 5,000 to 10,000 picked men of all arms, European and native, which would be ample for advance columns, supports, and reserves—I should feel little doubt, I say, but that a good general at the head of such a force would march triumphantly from the sea coast to Magdala, and fully achieve the objects of the expedition. I have now, sir, to refer to the third objection, which concerns the cost of the expedition, and which declares such cost to be out of all proportion to the benefit to be derived from it. This objection is chiefly urged by gentlemen who disregard, or, at any rate, undervalue, the advantages of 'prestige,' and with whom therefore it is somewhat difficult to contend, as we have no common ground of argument. I hope, however, I may be permitted to state my own views on this question of 'prestige,' and I would further ask leave, in support of those views, to say that, having been employed officially in the East for nearly thirty years, and having passed by far the greater portion of that service in immediate connection with Native Courts, my opinions with regard to 'prestige' are not derived from theory or from books, but are the result of personal experience and observation. I would say, then, that I look on 'prestige' in politics very much as I look on credit in finance. It is a power which enables us to achieve very great results with very small means at our immediate disposal. 'Prestige' may not be of paramount importance in Europe, but in the East, sir, our whole position depends upon it. It is a perfect fallacy to suppose that we hold India by the sword. The foundation of our tenure, the talisman—so to speak—which enables 100,000 Englishmen to hold 150,000,000 of natives in subjection, is the belief in our unassailable power, in our inexhaustible resources; and any circumstance, therefore, which impairs that belief, which leads the nations of the East to mistrust our superiority, and to regard us as more nearly on an equality with themselves, inflicts a grievous shock on our political position. It is impossible, sir, in such matters to trace cause and effect with mathematical precision, much must depend upon opinion; but in illustration of what I have said, I will give it as my opinion, derived from a very careful scrutiny of passing events, that the Sepoy outbreak in 1857 was mainly—I will not say wholly—attributable to the loss of 'prestige' we had incurred from our exhibition of weakness in the Affghan War. Since we had allowed our Envoys, Colonels Stoddart and Conolly, to be murdered at Bokhara without making any effort to avenge their fate, and since, by retiring from Affghanistan, we had confessed our inability to hold the country, it was evident that we were human, and might succumb to pressure; and hence, I believe, arose the germ of that confidence of the Sepoys in their own power which led them to try conclusions with us. And if, sir, a Nemesis thus overtook us in 1857, the same Nemesis may overtake us now, if we exhibit to the East such a miserable example of moral cowardice and military weakness as to allow our Envoys to perish in an Abyssinian dungeon, and show even no desire to wipe such a stain from the escutcheon of England. I have one more remark to make on the economical question. I cannot subscribe to the doctrine, now so prevalent, of weighing the honour of England against gold and silver. I cannot calculate in pounds, shillings, and pence the exact loss we may sustain owing to this Abyssinian disgrace; but this I do feel, that the despatch of an expedition for the release of the captives would, in all probability, be a measure of real economy in the end, as much as a necessary national duty. I mean it, sir, in this wise, that if by remaining inactive we allow the fatal seed of a mistrust of our power to be sown in India, it will germinate in the dark, and will then crop up some day when least expected, bringing in its train a harvest of disaster that will far more than counterbalance any saving we may now effect by refusing to send an expedition. And now, sir, I will only venture on two further observations. One relates to the object of the motion now before the House; the other to the source from whence the expenses of an expedition to Abyssinia might be defrayed. The object of the motion brought forward by my hon. friend is, as I understand it, not to invite discussion on details, but merely to induce the House to express an opinion on the general question—on the desirability, in fact, or otherwise, of sending an expedition to Abyssinia, either to recover our captive officers, or to exact retribution for their fate. There are, of course, a multitude of collateral considerations of much importance connected both with the conduct of the expedition and with the policy which should shape its course ; but I cannot think that these are fit matters for discussion in the House of Commons ; they must be left to the discretion and decision of the Government, who is alone responsible for them. There are two points only upon which, if an expedition were decided on, I should like to have an assurance beforehand. The first is, that we should engage in the affair single-handed and free from any foreign co-operation, although, as Abyssinia can only be approached through an Egyptian port, a certain friendly understanding with the Viceroy of Egypt would seem to be indispensable. The second point of importance is, that we should keep clear of any future engagements with the country. Our objects, it seems to me, are immediate and direct. We should endeavour to release the prisoners and to punish King Theodore, but it would be most inconvenient to find ourselves committed to the support of any other claimant to the throne, or, in fact, to be entangled in any way with future Abyssinian politics. The other observation that I would desire to make refers to the expenses of the expedition. It is rumoured out of doors that there has already been much discussion between the different departments of the State as to whether the cost of any expedition that might be undertaken should be borne by the Indian or the Imperial Treasury; and if we remember the discussions on the same subject which took place on the occasions of the China and Persian wars, the present rumour would seem far from improbable. On this subject, then, sir, I would desire to say that, although the quarrel with Abyssinia is strictly an Imperial quarrel, although the officers imprisoned by King Theodore were accredited from the Foreign Office, and the conduct of the negotiations with that potentate has been hitherto entirely under that department, yet, inasmuch as the evils from which we seek to be relieved by the despatch of an expedition would, if no such expedition were sent, fall almost exclusively upon India, I do think that India is bound to contribute something towards the cost of relieving her from the threatened danger. I mean, sir, that, as our loss of 'prestige' would hardly be felt in Europe, but would be felt severely in Asia, being in fact circulated in the first instance through the concourse of Mohammedan pilgrims in the neighbouring city of Mecca; and as the ill effects of that loss of 'prestige' would thus mainly fall on our Indian possessions, it would seem only fair that India should pay a moiety of the expenses of the war—as she did in the case of the China and Persian wars—as the price of the political benefit she would derive from the expedition. Sir, I have nothing more to say on the general question. I do appeal to the House to support my hon. friend the member for Poole in his motion praying that steps may be taken to obtain the release of the Abyssinian captives, if necessary, by force of arms. It is almost surprising to me that there can be two opinions on the subject. Is there any other of the great nations of Europe, let me ask, that would hesitate in such a matter? Should we hesitate ourselves if our antagonist were in a more accessible position? Are we prepared, then, to admit that a barbarian prince like King Theodore, living within 250 miles of the sea coast, can set us, the greatest maritime power in the world, at defiance? And are we prepared, let me add, to abdicate our place among the nations of the earth, for such must be the inevitable consequence if we sit down quietly in our shame, exposed to the scorn and pity of the East? No, sir; I cannot believe in such pusillanimity, in such, I must call it, suicidal cowardice. It seems to me, sir, that in justice to our officers, whom we are bound to protect, in justice to ourselves, in the name of humanity, of civilisation, and of national honour, we have no alternative but to send a force into Abyssinia, and that too without a day's unnecessary delay. There are times, sir, when too much prudence amounts almost to a betrayal of the national honour, and I do feel, sir, that those who can recommend our submitting without further effort to the intolerable disgrace which now oppresses us, incur a most awful responsibility; and that if their advice be followed, and those troubles should supervene, which there is every reason to anticipate, they will hereafter be called to a most severe account.

The appeal thus made had a success which does not often attend on a motion brought forward by a couple of private members—it at once determined the action of the Executive. Mr. Layard having given a hearty support to Sir Henry's main arguments, Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for India, as the mouthpiece of the Government, rose and said that he was quite unable to resist the appeal of his hon. friends, and would therefore state at once that the Government gave way upon the point, and would adopt the policy recommended. An expedition would be sent out as soon as the necessary inquiries had been completed. The result was the glorious Abyssinian campaign of 1867–8, so ably conducted by Lord Napier of Magdala, the vindication of British honour, and the rescue of the entire body of prisoners.

Another Parliamentary matter which greatly interested Sir Henry about this period was the Bill for amending the 'Government of India Act,' brought in by the Ministry, and successfully carried through in the Session of 1868. In the debates on this measure he took frequent part,[1] and must be regarded as having had an important share in giving to the Act its final shape.

The Central Asian question engrossed also no inconsiderable share of his attention. As far back as the year 1837, when he was with the British detachment in Persia, he had been deeply impressed with the aggressive attitude of Russia in the Central Asian region, and had become suspicious of the ends and aims which she proposed to herself. The insight which he obtained into Russian practices and methods during his employment in the Great Affghan War had intensified his suspicions, and the subsequent course of events in Turkestan and the adjacent regions, seemed to him to show that the only fault which could justly be imputed to him was that he had not been suspicious enough. About the year 1865 he set himself the task of arousing the British public to the gravity of the situation in the East, and bringing home to them what he believed to be the real designs and intentions of Russia with respect to Persia, Affghanistan, and India. He had already, many years previously, called attention to the subject in the pages of the 'Calcutta Review'; but the Anglo-Indian public, which alone reads the 'Calcutta Review,' is too narrow and restricted in its influence to greatly move public opinion in England, and his warnings had remained almost a dead letter. Now he obtained access to a more powerful organ. The

---

[1] Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. cxcii., pp. 860, 1878, 1889, &c.

'Quarterly Review' threw open its pages to him, and in October 1865, he published in this periodical the first of a series of articles intended to unmask Russia and arouse England to her danger. This work made a certain impression, which was intensified when the first article was followed up (in October 1866) by a second, under the title of 'Central Asia,' remarkable for its wide range, alike of political and of geographical knowledge. Soon after this a party began to gather about the author in the House of Commons (the most conspicuous member of it being Mr. Henry Danby Seymour, Member for Poole, his brother-in-law), to whom their enemies attached the condemnatory epithet of 'Russophobists,' while their friends regarded them as the most sagacious of patriots. In the year 1868 the party applied to Sir H. Rawlinson to bring on the Central Asian question in Parliament, and, agreeably to their wishes, he gave notice of a motion on the subject, and prepared an elaborate speech, which, however, he was accidentally prevented from delivering. Under these circumstances, he recast his speech, giving it the form of a Memorandum,[1] and formally presented it to

---

[1] Lord Roberts, in his recently published work, *Forty-one Years in India*, ascribes to the publication of this 'Memorandum' consequences of the most important character. 'The change of policy,' he says, 'which [in 1869] induced the Government of India to assist a struggling Ameer with money, after its repeated and emphatic declaration that interference was impossible, was undoubtedly brought about by an able and elaborate Memorandum written by the late Sir Henry Rawlinson on July 28, 1868. In this paper Rawlinson pointed out that, notwithstanding promises to the contrary, Russia was steadily advancing towards Affghanistan. He referred to the increased facilities of communication which would be the result of the recent proposal to bring Turkestan into direct communication, *viâ* the Caspian, with the Caucasus and St. Petersburg. He dwelt at length upon the effect which the advanced position of Russia in Central Asia would have upon Affghanistan and India. He explained that by the occupation of Bokhara Russia would gain a pretext for interference in Affghan politics, and that "if

Sir Stafford Northcote, Secretary of State for India at the time, to be laid up in the archives of the India Office. Later, he embodied it in the collection of

Russia once assumes a position which, in virtue either of an imposing military force on the Oxus, or of a dominant political influence in Affghanistan, entitles her, in native estimation, to challenge our Asiatic supremacy, the disquieting effect will be prodigious."

'"With this prospect before us," Sir Henry asked, "are we justified in maintaining what has been sarcastically, though perhaps unfairly, called Sir John Lawrence's policy of 'masterly inaction'? Are we justified in allowing Russia to work her way to Cabul unopposed, and there to establish herself as a friendly power prepared to protect the Affghans against the English?" He argued that it was contrary to our interests to permit anarchy to reign in Affghanistan; that Lord Auckland's famous doctrine of "establishing a strong and friendly power on our North-West Frontier" was the right policy for India; that Dost Mohamed's successful management of his country was in a great measure due to our aid, and that if we had helped the son as we had helped the father, Shir Ali would have summarily suppressed the opposition of his brothers and nephews. Rawlinson then added: "Another opportunity now presents itself. The fortunes of Shir Ali are again in the ascendant; he should be secured in our interests without delay."

'Rawlinson's suggestions were not at the time supposed to commend themselves to the Government of India. In the despatch in which it was answered (dated 4th January, 1869), the Viceroy and his Councillors stated that they still objected to any active interference in the affairs of Affghanistan; they foresaw no limits to the expenditure which such a move would entail, and they believed that the objects that they had at heart might be attained by an attitude of readiness and firmness on the frontier. It is worthy of note, however, that after Sir Henry Rawlinson's Memorandum had been received by the Indian Government, and notwithstanding these protests, the sum of 60,000*l.* was sent to Shir Ali, that Sir John Lawrence invited him to "come to some place in British territory for a personal meeting in order to discuss the best manner in which a limited support might be accorded," and that five days from the time of writing the above-mentioned despatch, John Lawrence sent a farewell letter to Shir Ali, expressing the earnest hope of the British Government that his Highness's authority would be established on a solid and permanent basis, and informing him that a further sum of 60,000*l.* would be supplied to him during the next few months, and that future Viceroys would consider, from time to time, what amount of practical assistance in the shape of money or war materials should periodically be made over to him as a testimony of their friendly feeling, and to the furtherance of his legitimate authority and influence.' (Vol. ii., pp. 45–48.)

papers upon the political and geographical condition of Central Asia, which he published in 1874 under the title of 'England and Russia in the East,' which was the only complete work that he ever gave to the general public in the shape of a volume.

The Parliamentary career of Sir Henry Rawlinson was now verging towards its close. He had not the political connections, nor had he received the training, which could entitle him to expect that any amount of labour or of careful attention to his duties would enable him to work his way into the foremost ranks of official life; and less would not have satisfied him. Moreover, he was scarcely possessed of sufficient private fortune to sustain the position of a Member of Parliament permanently, especially if its expenses were to be combined with those of educating and placing out a family. He had married in 1862; by 1868 he had already two sons. He was himself one of a large family, six of whom were boys. Prudence seemed to require either a contraction of expenses, or an enlargement of income, or both, if both could be compassed. It happened that, in the autumn of 1868, the opportunity of making a change arose. Three vacancies in the India Council, the last that would be 'life appointments,' were to be filled up in September of that year, two by co-optation, and one by the nomination of the Crown. The Crown nomination was offered to Sir Henry Rawlinson. His acceptance of it involved exclusion for the future from Parliament. He had to consider whether he would be really content to forfeit membership in the 'best club in London,' or (according to some) in the 'only club worth belonging to,' such forfeiture involving exclusion from all voice in the general government of the Empire, and to accept in exchange a much more powerful voice in the government of 250,000,000 of British subjects, together with a considerable alleviation of expenses, and an augmentation of income to the extent of 1,500*l.* a year. Undoubtedly the pecuniary considerations to a considerable extent affected his decision; but the interest which he took in India, and a consciousness of peculiar fitness for the position of an Indian ruler, together with the permanency of the post, were also influential, and helped much to determine the line of his later life. From henceforth the work of the India Council became his main work; cuneiform and other scientific studies sank into a secondary position.

Still, it must not be supposed that these studies were ever wholly relinquished, or even for any considerable space suspended. Four volumes of cuneiform inscriptions—selections from the historical inscriptions of Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylonia—were published by the authorities of the British Museum between the years 1870 and 1884, under his auspices; his contributions to the 'Athenæum,' the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' and the 'Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society,' were continued; he wrote a long series of articles, partly geographical, partly historical, for the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' and he made occasional contributions to the 'Nineteenth Century,' the 'Literary Gazette,' the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature,' and other serials of a scientific character. The literary work thus accomplished was such, both in amount and character, as would have sufficiently taxed the energies of most literary men, without other occupation or employment. It was accomplished by Sir Henry in the short intervals of leisure which were allowed him by the demands of a laborious and engrossing office.

CHAPTER XV

WORK AS MEMBER OF INDIA COUNCIL (1868–70)—INCREASING CALLS ON HIS TIME MADE BY THE GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—ELECTION AS PRESIDENT (1871)—ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN 1872, 1873, 1875, AND 1876—ATTENDANCE ON THE SHAH OF PERSIA IN 1873—PUBLICATION OF 'ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN THE EAST'—CONSEQUENT POLITICAL STIR

THE position of a Member of the India Council, though in a certain sense public, inasmuch as it is concerned wholly with the public service of the country, is yet, in a deeper and more vital sense, essentially private, or rather secret, since the doings of the Council are known only to the Members of the Council itself, and to the Secretary for India, and since for a member to divulge its proceedings would be regarded as a breach of confidence. However excellent the work done by individual members, however disproportionate the share of work done by this member or that, nothing is known on the subject by the outer world, which is apt somewhat cynically to doubt whether much really valuable work is accomplished within offices to which it is debarred from access, or whether, in point of fact, they are not rather so many comfortable sinecures. None but the India Secretaries under whom Sir Henry Rawlinson served, and the colleagues with whom he laboured, can really know what the amount of work which he did as India Councillor was, or what its value, or what the effort that it cost him. And the mouths of such persons are sealed by official reserve. Still, in official circles general estimates are necessarily formed, and the characters of all public servants who have been long in office, for industry and assiduity, as well as for sagacity and usefulness, become in course of time established and fixed. It is believed that, during the twenty-seven years of his official life as Member of the Council of India, there was no public servant who enjoyed a higher reputation than Sir Henry Rawlinson for the constancy of his attendance at the Office, for readiness to undertake hard tasks, or for the value of the suggestions which he made, and the advice which he tendered, whether orally or in writing. As an indication of the confidence placed in him within the Council itself, it may be mentioned, that after some years he was appointed (1882) Chairman of the Political Committee, being already one of the Vice-Presidents, and that, although more than once offering to resign the post to a younger man, he was induced by the remonstrances and entreaties of his colleagues to retain it until his death.

Office work became, then, from the year 1868, Sir Henry's main and most constant employment. He usually drove down to the India Office at about eleven o'clock, and stayed till four or five. He attended punctually the meetings of the various Committees on which he was placed, and was scarcely ever known to miss a Board day. The only still more indefatigable attendant at the Office than himself was Lord Stanley, who, when Secretary of State for India, was desirous of continuing the sittings through the whole of the summer and autumn, and was only brought to a better mind by something approaching a 'strike'; the Members of Council agreeing together about the middle of

August that on a certain day, for which they were summoned, they would all be absent from their places. The India Secretaries under whom Sir Henry served were Sir Stafford Northcote (Lord Iddesleigh) from October 1868 to December 10 of the same year; the Duke of Argyll from December 10, 1868, to February 22, 1874; the Marquis of Salisbury from February 22, 1874, to April 10, 1878; Viscount Cranbrook from April 10, 1878, to April 28, 1880; the Marquis of Hartington (Duke of Devonshire) from April 28, 1880, to December 16, 1882; the Earl of Kimberley from December 16, 1882, to June 24, 1885; Lord Randolph Churchill from June 24, 1885, to February 6, 1886; Lord Kimberley again from February 6, 1886, to August 3 of the same year; Viscount Cross from August 3, 1886, to August 18, 1892; Lord Kimberley for the third time from August 18, 1892, to March 3, 1894; and Sir H. H. Fowler from March 3, 1894, to his death. The affairs in which he was most deeply interested were the Affghan War of 1878–9, the Pendjeh incident of 1884–5, and the Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission. These, however, belong to a time later than that which we are now considering, and the discussion of them in this place would be premature.

While official work in connection with the India Council was thus occupying a large portion of Sir Henry's time and attention, he was also allowing himself to be drawn into a position with respect to the Geographical Society which involved a considerable increase of labour in that direction. Sir Roderick Murchison, the actual President, was becoming year by year more infirm, and therefore less able to discharge the full duties of his office. Under these circumstances, a large portion of what was properly Sir

Roderick Murchison's work was passed on to Sir Henry Rawlinson, as one of the most prominent, if not actually *the* most prominent, of the Vice-Presidents. The year 1870 saw him President of the Society in all but in name, and the following year witnessed his formal election and installation in the office. It became his duty, not only to preside at the meetings held during the session, but also to deliver, and afterwards publish, the annual address at the Anniversary Meeting in May, a work which usually runs to from 80 to 100 pages. Sir Henry delivered four such addresses —those of the years 1872, 1873, 1875, and 1876, forming when put together a volume of 357 pages. All this could not be done without considerable effort. Sir Henry Rawlinson said himself, on laying down his office in 1873: 'After three years' experience, I found the demands upon my time and attention, which the conduct of your affairs imposed upon me, to be so excessive as to interfere seriously with my other necessary occupations; and I have judged it absolutely indispensable to solicit an interval of relaxation.'[1] He enjoyed such an interval from May 1873 to May 1874, when he was again induced to accept the too laborious office, on the resignation of Sir Bartle Frere, and to hold it for a further biennial term, from May 1874 to May 1876. His final resignation was given in on May 22 of that year, when he took his leave of the Society in the subjoined touching terms:—

> GENTLEMEN,—The time is now come when I have to take a formal, and probably a final leave of you. I have been for thirty-two years a member of this Society; for twenty years, with very few breaks, I have

---

[1] Sir H. Rawlinson's *Address to the Royal Geographical Society of London* on May 26, 1873, pp. 84, 85.

served upon your Council, and I have now presided five times at your Anniversary Meetings. The greater part of my spare time since I returned from the East has thus been devoted to your service, and I am proud to state that my most agreeable memories are associated with the growing prosperity, and what I may now call the assured success, of the Geographical Society. But time steals on. I am not as active in mind or body as I was; and, as I find the continued direction of your affairs to be hardly compatible with the discharge of other duties connected with my public office, I am obliged to tender my resignation of the post of President. And I have the less hesitation in now asking for my release, that I am able to transfer my functions into the hands of a gentleman who to great experience in the East, and a good practical acquaintance with its geography, unites the qualification of a perfect man of business, a scholar, and a diplomatist. In electing Sir Rutherford Alcock to be your President, and in surrounding him with the thoroughly efficient Council whose names appear on the balloting list which has just received your approval, you have obtained the best possible guarantee for the successful management of your affairs during the ensuing year. I shall always be glad myself to give any advice or assistance that may be required, and I trust that the whole body of Fellows, in our common interest, will accord to the Council as at present constituted their fullest confidence and support.[1]

In the year 1873, his Majesty the Shah of Persia having resolved on paying a visit to Europe, which should extend to England, the Government of the day thought it necessary to appoint an official of high rank, and one well acquainted with the Persian language, to attend upon his Majesty during his stay in the country, and accompany him from place to place. Persons fitted for the post, and who would be willing to accept it, were not likely to be very numerous, so that it must have seemed to the Foreign Minister a happy chance by which he was able to lay his hand at once on so eligible a public servant as Sir Henry Rawlinson, and to find him willing to accept the responsibility, and put himself to the inconvenience of leading a wandering life, at the beck of another, for three or four weeks consecutively. Sir Henry Rawlinson's peculiar fitness for the post was evident. There may have been one or two other persons in England who understood and spoke Persian as well; but there was certainly no one else who had been for months on familiar terms with the Shah,[1] and was known to be a *persona grata* to him. 'Larenson,' as the Shah calls him in his diary,[2] met his Majesty at Brussels, and there renewed the acquaintance of thirteen years earlier, when as British Envoy he had been in almost daily communication with him at Teheran. He accompanied him from Brussels to Ostend, and from Ostend to England, 'conducting the presentations,' as the Shah says, 'and doing the honours.' Fortunately for all concerned, the passage was exceedingly smooth, and neither his Majesty, nor any of his suite, were inconvenienced. The spectacle, as the fleet approached Dover, was striking. The Shah and his suite, with Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir A. Kemball in attendance, were conveyed across the Channel in a British man-of-war, the *Vigilant*, with, as escort, two ordinary cruisers and two battle-ships, one of them a turret-ship of large dimensions. All were dressed with flags and bunting, so as to present a most gay appearance. The sea for some distance outside the harbour was covered with steamers, merchant-ships, yachts, and pleasure boats, adorned similarly. Salutes were fired by the men-of-war, bands played, the crowds which occupied the piers and the decks of the steamers cheered, the weather was perfect, and all was gaiety and good humour.

---

[1] Sir H. Rawlinson's *Address to the Royal Geographical Society of London* on May 22, 1876, p. 74.

---

[1] See above, chap. xii. pp. 222–231.

[2] *Diary of H.M. the Shah of Persia during his Tour through Europe in* A.D. 1873, pp. 28, 29.

The subjoined account of the occasion and proceedings, written by the Shah himself, though not free from slight errors, will, it is thought, be found of some interest:—

> From Ostend to Dover—the first of English soil—is a distance of five hours, and the Straits of Dover are famous for stormy and boisterous seas. But, thank God, the sea was very calm, like the palm of one's hand, so that no one suffered. It was like a trip on a river.
>
> Behind us, in our wake, three ships convoyed us; while two large ironclads, men-of-war, kept their stations as a guard of honour, the one on our right, the other on our left. Now and then they fired a gun. After we had advanced a certain distance, another ship came with two turrets and two guns in each turret. These turrets turned round in every direction as desired. This vessel, too, is an ironclad, and has a steam-power of 5,000 horses. Her sides are not so lofty. They said the shots of the guns of this ship knock the other ships to pieces. They fired two or three rounds with her guns, which made a great noise. Many merchant-ships and others came and went on their voyages; and at length we neared the English coasts, the hills of the shore becoming visible. Many men-of-war came to meet us. They all fired a salute. The surface of the sea was covered with ships and boats and large steamers, in which the merchants and nobles of England had come to witness the spectacle. The hills of the coast are not so very high; the rocks thereof are white, like a lime-quarry.
>
> At length we reached the port of Dover. They

have built a long stone pier here to protect the ships in the harbour from the waves and tempests. It extends far into the sea. Upon it were numbers of men and women, ladies and gentlemen, troops of infantry and horsemen. Here we stood. The sons of her Majesty the Queen of England, with Lord Granville (the Secretary for Foreign Affairs), and the magnates and notables of London had all come; the second son of the Queen, the Duke of Edinburgh, and the third, Prince Arthur. We stood up in the ship—the Queen's sons, the Foreign Secretary, the Lord Chamberlain of the Queen, who is a personage of consideration, and also First Officer of the Household, came. We went into the ship; we sat down in the cabin and conversed until the luggage was landed. . . .

At length we rose and went on to the pier, where there was a great concourse and crowd. We entered a train. I, the Queen's sons, the Grand Vazir, the Foreign Secretary, and the Lord Chamberlain occupied one carriage. The carriages were very beautiful; no such carriages had been seen [by us before]. We went on slowly a few feet, and then alighted at a building where they had prepared food.[1] I went into a small room, and there gave audience to the Hakimu-'l-Mamalik, who had been here some time. I was informed that the magistrate (? Mayor) of Dover had prepared a speech, which he must recite. I went to a hall and stood at the top of a high flight of steps. The English princes and magnates, [with] the princes and officers of my suite, were present. The magistrate recited the address at full length. It contained much in our praise and glorification. We made a reply, which 'Larenson' explained in English. The people clapped hands. We then returned to breakfast; all my suite were there. They brought hot dishes, fruits, &c., of which we partook. Then we arose and returned to the carriage, and proceeded on our journey, with the same personages accompanying us.[2]

---

[1] The Lord Warden Hotel.

[2] See the Shah's *Diary*, pp. 30–32.

Sir Henry's attendance upon the Shah lasted for nearly three weeks—from June 16, when they met at Brussels, to July 5, when they parted in the harbour of Portsmouth. It was nearly, though not quite, continuous, and is described by Sir Henry himself as 'a hard three weeks' work.'[1] Sir Henry escorted his illustrious charge not only to Windsor Castle, Trentham Hall, Greenwich, the Crystal Palace, the Albert Hall, and the other principal sights in and near the metropolis, but also to the more distant localities of Portsmouth, Manchester, Crewe, and Liverpool, everywhere interpreting to and for him, and explaining everything in which his Majesty seemed to be specially interested. The Shah showed very considerable intelligence; and it was physical, rather than mental, weariness of which his attendant complained, when, at the end of twenty days, he found himself freed from his honourable but onerous engagement. At the subsequent visit of the Shah, in 1889, Sir Henry's age was considered to entitle him to exemption from the strain of a second attendance, and—much to his satisfaction—the duty was imposed upon another.

In the year which followed the Shah's first visit to Europe, Sir Henry took advantage of the unusual amount of interest in Oriental affairs which the visit had excited among the British public, to draw renewed attention to what he had so long regarded as the great danger threatening England from that quarter, by the publication of a volume, in which he collected together his previous deliverances upon the subject, adding to them a certain amount of fresh matter well calculated to arouse general alarm. This volume, which he entitled 'England and Russia in the East,' is allowed, even by those who do not admit the full force of its reasonings, to be 'a remarkable work,' and one 'which will always be quoted as a text-book on the subject.'[1] It exhibited an extraordinarily extensive acquaintance with the history, geography, and actual condition of the countries between the Caspian and India, somewhat loosely termed 'Central Asia' by modern writers, and showed in a most striking way the advances made by Russia in those regions during the last half century. It depicted, in colours which were perhaps over strong, the never-hasting, never-resting aggressive policy of the Czars, the shiftiness of their diplomacy, and the impossibility of placing any firm reliance on the pledges which Russian Ministers are always willing to give. Naturally, its statements made a great impression upon the public, and caused emotions which were not always pleasurable among statesmen. The leaders of the Liberal Party, which was mainly responsible for allowing the Russian advance, and maintaining the policy of 'masterly inaction,' were exceedingly angry at what they regarded as a blow from the hand of a friend. Lord Northbrook, Viceroy of India, was especially displeased. On the other hand, the Conservative statesmen, who came into power just as the book was published, were inclined to look favourably upon the views of its author, and leant towards his policy. Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for India from February 22, 1874, to April 10, 1878, expressed a warm approval of the work, and to some extent corrected the proofs of the second edition,[2] which made its appearance in 1875. The Government policy towards Central Asia and Afghanistan was considerably affected by it; and when the secret despatches and correspondence of this period see the light, it will probably appear that the appointment of Lord Lytton as Viceroy of India in 1876, and the policy pursued by him during his tenure of the office (from April 12, 1876, to June 8, 1880), were not altogether unconnected with the 'remarkable work' in question. It is well known that Lord Lytton, during the interval between his appointment and his departure for India, was in frequent communication with Sir Henry Rawlinson on Indian affairs, and it is a tolerably 'open secret' that the intercourse did not cease with his removal from London to Calcutta. A school of politicians still exists which sees in the second Affghan War the *dénouement* of what it calls 'the Rawlinsonian Asiatic Policy,' and regards as the outcome of 'England and Russia in the East' the whole series of events from the first opening of negotiations between Lord Lytton and the Amir Shir Ali to the handing over of Southern Affghanistan by the British Government to Abdul Rahman. It is too early as yet to express a decided opinion as to whether Sir Henry Rawlinson, in his long series of warnings against the designs of Russia, and in his determined opposition to her Eastern policy, was or was not a prudent and sagacious statesman; the verdict of posterity must decide this question; but it is as impossible to doubt the warmth of his patriotism and the honesty of his convictions, as to deny the ability with which they were set forth and the courage with which they were advocated. It should also be borne in mind that, even if the struggle between England and Russia for the possession of India, which he so greatly feared, should never take place, it will not necessarily follow that he was an alarmist, since it is quite possible that his warnings, and the steps taken by England in consequence of them, may have been among the most potent factors in averting the threatened collision.

---

[1] *Rough Summary of Life*, p. 27.

---

[1] See the *Times* newspaper of March 6, 1895, page 8, col. 2.

[2] *Rough Summary of Life*, p. 28.

CHAPTER XVI

ATTENDS THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE IN 1876—INVITED TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT OF ENGLAND'S POLICY IN THE EAST WITH LORD LYTTON ON HIS APPOINTMENT AS VICEROY—CONTINUES IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIM, 1877–79—WRITES ARTICLES IN THE 'NINETEENTH CENTURY' IN SUPPORT OF LORD LYTTON'S POLICY, 1878–80—HIS VIEWS ON THE GENERAL AFFGHAN QUESTION

In September 1876, Sir Henry Rawlinson, with a number of other eminent geographers, was invited by the King of the Belgians to attend a conference on the subject of African Exploration, which his Majesty proposed to gather together at Brussels for the discussion of various points of greater or less interest connected with 'the Dark Continent.' The Royal Palace was thrown open to the *savants* collected, who became for the time his Majesty's guests, and were entertained by him in right regal fashion for several consecutive days, receiving, each of them, at their departure a three-quarters length portrait of their royal host, as a memorial of the occasion. In the same year he was also invited to a conference, or rather a series of conferences, with another even more powerful potentate, the prospective ruler over two hundred and fifty millions of subjects—Lord Lytton, Viceroy-Designate of India. He had thus, after many years of effort, an opportunity of influencing the course of events in the East, and of seeing the line of policy which he had so long and so warmly advocated, to a certain extent at any rate, put to the proof. Lord Lytton took office at a time when matters in the East had reached a crisis. Encouraged by Russia, Shir Ali, the Amir of Affghanistan, had offered to the Government of India a series of affronts, with which it was barely possible to put up, and these affronts culminated, in 1878, in his favourable reception and entertainment at his Court of a Russian Mission, sent by the Governor-General of Russian Turkestan, simultaneously with his repulse and rejection of an Anglo-Indian Mission, sent to him after due notice by Lord Lytton. Russia was under engagements, five times repeated, to ourselves, to 'regard Affghanistan as wholly beyond the sphere of her influence,' and the Amir was bound by treaty to consult us in all matters where his foreign relations were concerned; but in the summer of 1878, without previously giving us any notice or information whatever, he both received a Russian Mission under General Stolietoff into his capital,[1] and also himself despatched a return embassy to the Russian headquarters at Tashkend, accredited to the Russian Commandant, General Kauffmann. He showed, in fact, every disposition to throw himself wholly into the hands of Russia, and become entirely her catspaw, while he broke off altogether all pretence of friendly relations with us. Russia was at the same time giving unmistakable indications of a policy of active hostility to British interests. In Europe she was attacking Turkey and threatening Constantinople; in Asia, after absorbing the Khanats, one after another, she was approaching Merv, and putting out feelers towards Herat. At any moment it was possible that she might throw off the mask, openly take the Amir under her protection, march a *corps d'armée* into Affghanistan,[1] and proceed to attempt the conquest of India. Sir Henry Rawlinson was of opinion that the policy of inaction recently pursued, always dangerous, would, under these circumstances, if persisted in, prove fatal; and it was in this sense that he, no doubt, advised Lord Lytton, both before he quitted England in 1876, and after he had assumed the government of India in that year, and also in the early part of 1877. Lord Lytton himself was well inclined towards an active and energetic policy. He was a man not only of a cultivated and refined taste, but of enlarged views and of considerable ambition, desirous of taking advantage of his position to obtain a prominent place among the great men of his age. At the same time, the circumstances in which he was placed strongly impelled him towards action. To have put up tamely with the long series of slights and insults in which Shir Ali had indulged himself from the time of the Seistan award in 1871, would have ruined the prestige of England among the nations of the East, and made her the laughing-stock of Asia. It would also have been a great encouragement to Russia to risk a bold stroke, and precipitate matters by a sudden advance from Turkestan upon Cabul and Herat. Kept well advised on all these points, both by his friends in England and his counsellors in India, Lord Lytton, in

---

[1] It was not merely the fact of the reception, but the manner of it, which showed that a slap in the face to England was intended. As Lord Roberts observes: 'From the moment General Stolietoff's Mission set foot on Affghan territory it met with an enthusiastic reception. Five miles from the capital Stolietoff and his companions were welcomed by the Foreign Secretary. They were then mounted on richly-caparisoned elephants, and escorted by a large body of troops to the Bala Hissar, where, the following morning, they were received in state by Shir Ali and the nobles of the highest degree in his kingdom' (*Forty-one Years in India*, vol. ii. p. 110).

---

[1] On the very close approach of this danger, see the same work, *Forty-one Years in India*, vol. ii. p. 110, note.

October 1878, despatched an ultimatum to the Amir, Shir Ali, allowing him till November 20 to apologise for the insulting conduct of the Affghan authorities in stopping the progress of the British Mission to Cabul, and, receiving no reply by the expiration of the time allowed, issued a formal declaration of war on November 21. Thus the die was cast. After seven years (1872–8) of continuous provocation, both on the part of the Amir and of Russia, the second Affghan War was determined on, and British troops, under Generals Browne and Roberts, crossed the Affghan frontier.

In the storm of obloquy which Lord Lytton drew down upon his head by this bold course of action, Sir Henry Rawlinson was one of his main defenders. In successive articles, published in the 'Nineteenth Century Review' of December 1878, August 1879, and February 1880, he gave a graphic picture both of the circumstances which made the war a necessity, and of the results which were accomplished by it. It was his object to show that events had completely vindicated the Viceroy's action. At first his task was comparatively easy. The second Affghan War—the war of 1878–9—was little more than a military parade, success following success, and the enemy scarcely offering more than the feeblest shadow of resistance. Ali Musjid, the scene of the insult offered to the Viceroy's Envoy, was occupied on November 22; on December 2 the Peiwar Kotal was forced;[1] General Brown, on December 20, took Jellalabad; three weeks later, on January 9, 1879, General D. Stewart occupied Candahar; and soon afterwards (January 21) Khelat-i-Ghilzye. The Amir Shir Ali, instead of showing a bold front, and defending his throne with the stubborn determination that might have been expected of him, deserted his capital and fled to Mazar-i-Sharif, where, on February 21, he died.[1] His son and successor, Mohammed Yakub Khan, no sooner found himself seated on the throne than he hastened to make overtures for peace, and on May 26, 1879, within little more than six months of the proclamation of war, the Treaty of Gundamok was signed,[2] and hostilities came to an end. British honour had been vindicated at a ridiculously small cost in money, and with almost no expenditure of blood; Russia had been discredited, and it might almost have been said disgraced, and Anglo-Indian prestige had been restored almost to the point at which it stood in 1842, after the victories of Nott and Pollock. Sir Henry Rawlinson had the pleasing task, in August 1879, of showing, in the pages of the 'Nineteenth Century,' how easy had been the victory, how complete the triumph, how futile the prophecies of disaster, and how creditable to the Viceroy and his advisers the results obtained by a short, inexpensive, and most skilfully conducted campaign, begun and ended almost within a semester.

---

[1] Roberts's *Forty-one Years in India*, vol. ii. pp. 137–9.

At the same time Sir Henry was not deceived into thinking that, because all had gone so well up to the date at which he wrote, therefore all danger was past, and England might safely relax her vigilance, and sit motionless with folded hands for the future. He warned the nation that the danger was postponed, not averted. He pointed out that, with such a people as the Affghans, it was necessary to be always upon one's guard, and that little dependence was to be placed on promises, or even on solemnly signed treaties, more especially when there was a tempter at hand, who would leave no stone unturned in order to deprive England of the advantages which she had gained by her recent action. Russia, he pointed out, had been the *fons et origo mali* from the first recrudescence of the Affghan difficulty, and was not likely to acquiesce in a settlement which had deeply humiliated her and damaged her prestige throughout Asia. We might be certain that she would make every effort that she possibly could to disturb the existing arrangements, and, by hook or by crook, to rekindle the flames of war in Affghanistan at no distant date. Thus warned, neither was the nation, nor was Lord Lytton, taken by surprise when, in the autumn of 1879, little more than three months after the signature of the Treaty of Gundamok, insurrection broke out at Cabul, and, with the undoubted connivance of the new Amir, the British Envoy, Sir P. L. Cavagnari, was murdered at the residence which had been assigned him, and the whole *entourage* of the Embassy massacred. The third Affghan War, or the second phase of the second,[1] whichever we like to call it, was thus precipitated, and the struggle recommenced which the Treaty of Gundamok was for a time supposed to have terminated.

---

[1] Roberts's *Forty-one Years in India*, vol. ii. p. 168.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 172, 173.

It could not be expected that the same extraordinary good fortune which had attended the British arms throughout the campaign of 1878–9 would again wait upon them in that of 1879–80. But it tells well for the prudence and sagacity of Lord Lytton and his advisers, that disaster was confined within comparatively narrow limits. British troops were in such readiness, and had been withdrawn so short a space, that Candahar was reoccupied within three days, and Cabul and Jellalabad within little over a month. The Amir, Mohammed Yakub Khan, despairing of a successful defence, abdicated, and was deported to Meerut. An attempt at insurrection by the population of Cabul was easily suppressed. So long as Lord Lytton continued Viceroy, all continued fairly prosperous. Sir D. Stewart defeated a large Affghan force near Ghuzni on April 19, 1880, and took the stronghold on the 20th. It was not until Lord Lytton had been recalled, and the Marquis of Ripon appointed Viceroy in his place, that any important disaster befel the British arms. Then, no doubt, in the defeat of General Burrows at Khushki-Nakhud we suffered a sad reverse, and one certainly not attributable to the incoming Viceroy. It may be questioned, however, whether the General himself was not the sole person responsible for the disaster, or if indeed it was not rather one of those accidents of warfare which will from time to time occur,[1] and against which no prudence can guard. At any rate, it was a disaster which had no further ill consequences, but was speedily and signally avenged. The victory of Sir Frederick Roberts at Candahar on September 1, after his splendid march from Cabul to the western capital, completely re-established British prestige, and practically brought the second phase of the second war to an end glorious to the British arms, and altogether, in a military point of view, satisfactory. It remained for the civil authority to decide what use should be made of the favourable military situation. The Liberal Government, which had succeeded that of Lord Beaconsfield, adopted, unfortunately, the policy of 'scuttle,' thus making no use at all of the situation, but absolutely throwing away all the advantages which the complete success of Lord Lytton's aggressive policy and active measures had put within their grasp, had they chosen to lay hold on them. Affghanistan was evacuated, even the Kurram district given up, and Candahar handed over to a new Amir of doubtful inclinations, whom it was sought to bind to our cause by lavish gifts and subsidies.

---

[1] Lord Roberts regards the Treaty of Gundamok as ending 'the first phase of the second Affghan War' (*Forty-one Years in India*, vol. ii. p. 173).

---

[1] 'The desertion of General Burrows's contingent of Affghan troops in a body to the enemy was the chief and all-sufficient cause of the disaster' (Roberts's *Forty-one Years in India*, vol. ii. p. 332).

In the opinion of Sir Henry Rawlinson, a very different course ought to have been pursued. While disinclined to the immediate annexation of Affghanistan, and especially of the northern and north-eastern portions of it, he thought it of the utmost importance that we should retain a hold on Candahar, thus remaining within striking distance of Herat, which he considered to be the key of the situation. Faithful to his old convictions of Russia's aggressiveness, and of real *ultimate* danger to India by any advance on her part from the Caspian by way of Merv upon Herat, he regarded it as essential that we should dominate Western Affghanistan either by an actual annexation, or at any rate by a military occupation, which might be represented as temporary, but which must not be relinquished unless for some other equally satisfactory arrangement, so that, on the first indication of a further Russian advance towards the south, we might be in a position to anticipate her, and ourselves occupy Herat and take 'the Key of India' into our own possession. As a temporary measure, he advised the transfer of Herat to Persia, 'notwithstanding all that was past,'[1] but under the stipulation that, if danger threatened, England should have the right of reinforcing the Persian garrison by a body of British troops sufficiently numerous to resist any attack from the north. If the permanent possession of Candahar were thus secured, and its close connection with India effected by the continuation of the Quetta railway from Sukker through Sibi and Pishin to Chaman and the Khojuck Pass, he thought that the rest of Affghanistan might be neglected, and either be left to 'stew in its own juice,' or even suffered to pass under Russian influence. Russia would never make a serious advance upon India by the rugged and difficult country of Eastern Affghanistan, and with such strongholds as Candahar and Herat upon her flank; any attack upon Peshawur and the Punjab must come from the north-*west*. If Candahar therefore and the western passes were securely held, Quetta and the Bolan defile strongly guarded, and satisfactory arrangements made for the control of the Eymack tribes and for the permanent tranquillisation of the Seistan frontier, it did not greatly matter what became of Cabul and Eastern Affghanistan, whether they fell under the dominion of a single Amir, or of half a dozen, or even became a prey to anarchy. These views were set forth in full in the February number of the 'Nineteenth Century' of 1880; and though they thus belong to a date anterior by some months to the complete abandonment of Affghanistan by the Liberal Government, they sufficiently indicate the strong disapproval[1] with which Sir Henry regarded the policy of that Government in Eastern affairs—a policy already foreshadowed, and soon afterwards relentlessly carried out.

---

[1] *Nineteenth Century Review* for 1880, vol. vii. p. 211.

---

[1] In the brief outline of his life dictated by Sir Henry to an amanuensis occurs the following short entry under the year 1880: 'Close of the Affghan War—Candahar evacuated, and we withdrew from the country, *much to my disgust*.'

Sir Henry's convictions on this subject were further expressed in a letter which he addressed a little later to the Editor of the 'Times' newspaper, to the following effect:—

April 6, 1883.

Sir,—In Mr. Lepel Griffin's letter, published in the 'Times' of to-day, he has rather overstated his case as to there having been no reversal of the Beaconsfield Affghan policy by the present Government. It may be conceded that both parties were agreed as to the necessity for withdrawing from Cabul, and leaving the administration of Eastern and Northern Affghanistan in the hands of an independent ruler; but the method of dealing with Western Affghanistan constituted a crucial point of difference between the Conservative and Liberal policies. The Conservative party, had they remained in power, would, it may be presumed, have retained a British garrison in Candahar, not with a view to annexation, which, as Mr. Lepel Griffin remarks, had been officially repudiated at Cabul, nor on the declared footing of a permanent occupation, which would have been annexation disguised, but in support of engagements which we had solemnly contracted and duly notified to Abdur Rahman Khan, and which we considered of importance for the due defence of our Indian Empire; and they would further have strengthened this defensive position by continuing the railway from Sibi at the foot of the hills to the town of Candahar. The policy in this case would have been to keep in our own hands, and independently of Cabul, the control of the line by which alone India could be threatened from the north-west; and it was hoped that we should attain this object effectively and inexpensively, without violating any promises, and with a minimum of friction. The Liberal party, on the contrary, on coming into power, decided to wash their hands, as far as possible, of the whole Affghan connection, retiring from Candahar without any diplomatic arrangement, and ostentatiously taking up the railway beyond Sibi, in order to mark their determined opposition to a policy of advance. Mr. Lepel Griffin is not justified in arguing that the Conservatives would have been equally obliged to abandon Candahar, being pledged against both annexation and permanent occupation, and the Wali, Shir Ali, refusing to remain without our continued military support. The fact is, that the collapse of the Wali's power was owing to our announced intention of retirement. Had a British garrison remained at Candahar during the last three years on the same footing of friendly and temporary occupation upon which it has been maintained in Quetta and Pishin, the railway from Sinde having at the same time been pushed on to the gates of the Western Affghan capital, the Wali's position would probably by this time have been so consolidated as to make him independent of our support. At any rate this was the Conservative programme, which has been entirely reversed by the proceedings of the Liberal Government.

Doubtless the Liberal policy has had its immediate advantages. Our military expenditure in India has been very appreciably reduced. The Affghan element at Candahar, as opposed to the Parsiwán, has to a certain extent been conciliated, and possibly the conduct of our relations with Abdur Rahman has been facilitated and improved; but there have been corresponding disadvantages—especially in regard to the future—which must also be taken into account. Our retirement has been the signal for Russian advance. Her progress indeed has been most rapid since 1880. Cossack outposts are now scattered over the country as far as Sereks; and Russian engineers push their surveys almost to the gates of Herat. The contact of the Indian and Russian frontier, which used to be a dream, a bugbear, has now been brought within 'measurable distance' both of time and space. Again, the trade of India with Central Asia, which was developing most favourably, has been nipped in the bud, and our prestige as a great military power has sustained a very serious blow throughout all Western Asia.

CHAPTER XVII

APPROVAL OF SIR HENRY'S VIEWS BY THE INDIA COUNCIL—OPPOSITION TO THEM IN OTHER QUARTERS—PROGRESS OF EVENTS IN CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIAN ABSORPTION OF MERV—RISE OF THE AFFGHAN FRONTIER QUESTION—DANGER OF A RUSSIAN WAR—PENDJEH INCIDENT—ANGLO-RUSSIAN FRONTIER COMMISSION—SIR HENRY'S PART IN THE DELIMITATION

It is scarcely possible to doubt that the election of Sir Henry Rawlinson at this particular conjuncture by his brother members of the India Council to the Chairmanship of their 'Political Committee' was intended to mark approval of the line of policy in Indian matters which he had for so many years consistently advocated, and which he had recently had so large a share in getting carried out. In other quarters there was the strongest opposition to these views. Sir M. Grant Duff denounced them as in the highest degree dangerous, mistaken, unpatriotic, and false. Other writers and speakers, both in Parliament and in the press, swelled the chorus of disapproval, and for a considerable space Sir Henry had a fair claim to the title of 'the best-abused man of his time.' Intense conviction of the correctness and importance of his views made the bearing of this burden comparatively easy. But it was no doubt a satisfaction and a support to him to feel that he carried with him the sympathy and approval of the bulk of his colleagues, men peculiarly well fitted by their antecedents for forming valuable judgments on the matter in dispute. The brief Memoir so often mentioned which he dictated to an amanuensis contains frequent reference to his election and maintenance in this chairmanship year after year, which was evidently extremely gratifying to him.

Meanwhile, the progress of events in Central Asia was tending to justify the advice which he had given, and to prove his sagacity and foresight. The echoes of British feet retiring from Western and Southern Affghanistan had scarcely died away in the south when in the north the tramp of advancing Russian hosts made itself heard, and Merv lost its independence, and was absorbed into the Russian state. Herat was approached within striking distance, and the whole of Affghan Turkestan seriously threatened. So manifest became the danger, so pressing the peril, that even the party of 'masterly inactivity' grew alarmed, and roused itself to take steps of an active character. Diplomacy experienced a flutter of alarm. Telegraphic communications passed incessantly between London, Calcutta, and St. Petersburg; and at last, in 1884, the relations between the Court of St. James and the Czar had become so strained that hostilities seemed on the point of breaking out. It was felt on both sides that, unless an agreement could be come to between the two great rival Powers with respect to the true Affghan frontier, a collision might at any time occur in the Central Asian region which would almost of necessity light up the flames of war throughout the East. As neither of the Powers wished for immediate war, or was prepared for it, frantic efforts were made to avert the threatened catastrophe. Proposals for an 'Anglo-Affghan-Russian Commission' to settle the boundary passed between M. de Giers and the British authorities—Lord Kimberley, the Marquis of Ripon, and Sir Edward Thornton—and these proposals were gradually brought into a shape that seemed acceptable to both sides. The Affghan element was eliminated from the Commission, which, instead of being 'Anglo-Affghan-Russian,' became simply 'Anglo-Russian'; two Commissioners were even appointed, one by either party, Sir Peter Lumsden and General Zelenoi, and the time and place for their first meeting were settled. All seemed to promise well for a pacific arrangement, when suddenly the entire business fell through. A change came o'er the spirit of the Russian dream. M. Lessar, a Russian agent, made a perambulation of the border provinces with the result that entirely new pretensions were put forward on the part of Russia, and the good understanding, which had hitherto seemed to prevail, was broken up. With no apology, and on the flimsiest possible excuse, Russia withdrew her Commissioner and sent him to rusticate at Tiflis; military movements—the occupation by Russian detachments of new posts—recommenced, and threw the whole border country into a state of confusion and alarm; the Amir grew nervous, and put his own army in motion to protect his territories; the condition of things became even more perilous than it had been before the Commission was appointed. At length the explosion came. On March 30, 1885, what is known as 'the Pendjeh incident' occurred, at a place of that name about 120 miles north of Herat, and the Affghan boundary question may be said to have entered upon a new phase.

The 'Pendjeh incident' was an encounter, in the neighbourhood of that place, between a body of Russian and a body of Affghan troops, without any previous declaration of war on either side. The outposts of the two nations had for some time been gradually approaching one another, and it had been perceived that a collision was not improbable; but both sides had been warned not to attack the other, and it was hoped that by these means hostilities might be averted. Such a hope under such circumstances was naturally doomed to disappointment. The collision occurred, and the Russian detachment swept the unfortunate Affghans from the field, the loss of the latter being variously estimated at from 700 to 900 killed and 300 wounded.[1]

This untoward event brought matters to a crisis. England had an evident *casus belli* against Russia, and could scarcely refrain from taking up arms in defence of the Amir, her ally, unless immediate steps were taken to render a repetition of such a catastrophe impossible by hastening the delimitation of the frontier, and thus leaving no debatable territory on which collisions could happen. Accordingly, England pressed for a resumption of negotiations, a re-constitution of the Anglo-Russian Commission, and an immediate proceeding to the work now proved to be so necessary. Russia yielded. On May 8 the Commissioners, Sir J. West Ridgeway and Colonel Khulberg, proceeded to actual delimitation, and, both parties being seriously bent on an amicable settlement, no great difficulty was found in the laying down of a line fairly satisfactory to both sides, the basis of the arrangement made being a report drawn up by Sir H. Rawlinson on the subject for her Majesty's Government in 1873, which was adopted into the Granville-Gortshakoff Convention of that year. Sir Henry's profound knowledge of the comparative geography of the countries in question was thus found practically of the greatest service in determining a matter at once of extreme intricacy and of extreme delicacy, and of determining it in a manner which has stood the test of time. It is now (1897) twelve years since the delimitation was made; and during that considerable space there has been no fresh 'Pendjeh incident'—no dispute, in fact, of any kind with respect to the boundary laid down. The Czar and the Amir have been peaceable neighbours; and if no very warm friendship—no 'union of hearts'—can be said to have existed between them, yet at any rate they have been quiescent, they have not flown at each other's throats. The tranquillity of the East has been maintained for an unusually long period of time, and although it would probably be taking an over sanguine view to imagine that Russia has once and for ever laid aside her ambitious schemes of self-aggrandisement, or that Central Asia is entering upon a time of assured peace and tranquillity, yet it is something to have had such a respite as we have actually enjoyed; and diplomacy may be congratulated on having achieved, by means of the Affghan Boundary Commission, an important success. No doubt other causes have combined to produce the lull which has been experienced. The attention of Russia has been diverted to other objects, and her energies have found employment both nearer home and further afield; the Amir has proved himself both a wise and a strong ruler; India has had a succession of able but unenterprising Viceroys. There looms, however, in the near future an event which will severely test the stability of the present condition of things. The health of the Amir is not what might be desired, and it is generally thought by Anglo-Indians that his death cannot be very long delayed. This event, whenever it arrives, will almost certainly precipitate a catastrophe. There is every prospect of a disputed succession, of long and acute troubles throughout the Affghan territories, with a serious danger of other neighbouring nations being drawn into the strife. It may be hoped that under these circumstances England will be found still to possess among her Anglo-Indian statesmen counsellors as wise and well-informed as guided her through the crisis of 1878–85, and will issue from the peril which awaits her as strong and as capable of holding her own as she showed herself at the close of the second period of Affghan troubles.

---

[1] The 'Battle of the Murghab' was thus described in the *Times* of April 10, 1885: 'The Russian troops were drawn up almost within range of the Affghan position, and in a manner calculated to provoke an engagement. The proximity of the Russian and Affghan forces, therefore, produced exactly the consequences that might have been anticipated, and probably those which were intended. The small force which Colonel Alikhanoff, the Commandant of Merv, had pushed forward from that place to Orush Tojain, had been reinforced from Askabad within the last three weeks, and General Komaroff assumed the command in person. The best available information shows that the Russian force on the Murghab did not fall short of 4,000 men and eight guns, while the Affghans had at Ak Tepeh 400 men, and between that place [and . . . .] about a thousand more. The Russian authorities are, of course, anxious to make the most of their success, but there is every reason to believe that they had a preponderance of force, as well as the superiority in weapons and artillery. The wet weather which has prevailed throughout Khorasan during the last ten days . . . rendered the Affghan muzzle-loaders ineffective, while the Russian breech-loaders retained their efficiency. But, at the largest estimate, the Affghan force could not have exceeded 1,500 men, and the Russians had at least twice as many troops, including their Turcoman auxiliaries in the neighbourhood of Pul-i-Khisti. The Affghans fought with remarkable gallantry, and the statement that two companies defended one position, probably Ak Tepeh itself, until every man was killed, rests on official information. Whatever the Russian loss may have been, the fact is undoubted that the Affghans suffered heavily, and that those who escaped from the fray retired to Meroochak. General Lumsden speaks of 200 Afghans having fallen; but the Russian official account places their loss at 500.'

CHAPTER XVIII

LOSING YEARS OF LIFE (1885–1895)—EDINBURGH DEGREE—CONTINUED WORK AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND THE INDIA COUNCIL — FAILURE OF HEALTH, COMMENCING ABOUT 1884—DOMESTIC AFFAIRS—DEATH OF WIFE (1889)—SONS ENTER THE ARMY AND SERVE IN INDIA—MARRIAGE OF SONS—LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH.

In the year 1885 Sir Henry attained the ripe age of seventy-five. His life could not but be drawing towards a close, yet his vigour was still scarcely a whit abated. In April 1884 he attended a great meeting of European *savants* at Edinburgh, and had the honour of receiving the Degree of Doctor of Laws (LL.D.) at the hands of the University. He discharged his duties with exemplary regularity as a member of the India Council, and still gave to literary work at the British Museum a considerable portion of his time. Lord Beaconsfield, then Mr. D'Israeli, had conferred on him the position of Trustee of the Museum in 1878, and from this date he made a point of attending regularly at all the meetings held by the Trustees. This uninterrupted activity at so advanced a time of life told, unfortunately, upon his health, and from about the year 1884 complaints of serious indisposition begin to be frequent in his diaries, and give warning of the near approach of the 'commencement de la fin.' Two visits were paid to Bath in the course of that year with the view of obtaining benefit from the mineral waters, but no important result followed. Sir Henry became so far a chronic invalid that he felt it incumbent on him to engage a permanent medical attendant, who should look in upon him twice a week. He was, I believe, a very rebellious patient; but, nevertheless, he contrived to maintain such a state of health as enabled him to discharge effectually the duties of his various offices until the spring of 1895. Probably no one who first met him during the decade 1885–95 would have guessed his age. He moved with firmness and vigour; his eyes were bright with intelligence; he held himself erect as he stood or walked; his hair alone, which was almost wholly white, proclaimed him an old man. In other respects the septuagenarian of 1885, and even the octogenarian of 1895, was not greatly changed from the sexagenarian of 1870–80.

Sir Henry had married, in 1862, Louisa (the youngest daughter of Mr. Seymour of Knoyle, Wiltshire), whose brothers, Henry Danby and Alfred, were respectively members for Poole and for Totnes. The marriage was in every way a happy one. Two sons were the fruit of the union—Henry Seymour, commonly known as 'Harry,' or Sennacherib, born in 1864, and Alfred, born in 1867, called in his family and by his intimates 'Toby.' Lady Rawlinson died in 1889, after twenty-seven years of a most harmonious wedded life, at the age of fifty-six. To say that her loss was severely felt by her attached and afflicted husband, is to give but weak expression to the realities of the case, over which it will be probably best to draw a veil. 'The heart knoweth its own bitterness.' None but the sufferer himself can fully know, much less adequately describe, the suffering which is caused by the rupture of the marriage tie when the marriage has been what marriage was intended to be. From the time of his wife's death Sir Henry lost much of that prevailing cheerfulness, and even sparkle, which had previously been characteristic of him, and had rendered him so delightful an associate. He became comparatively grave and serious in his demeanour, rarely indulged in laughter, and not much in light conversation. His friends missed that happy mixture of jocose with serious remark which had in former days constituted one of his special attractions.

He was not, however, even in these dark days, thrown back wholly upon himself, the superintendence and advancement of his sons giving him a continual interest in life of the warmest character. Both boys had selected the army for their profession, and after passing through the ordinary curriculum of Eton, had been entrusted to the special teachers who prepare young men for the Army Examinations. These were in due time successfully passed, and while the elder son obtained a commission in the 60th Rifles, the younger joined the 17th Lancers. Both lads served in India for some years; and the elder, having become aide-de-camp to Lord Roberts, accompanied him on tours of inspection which he made in the years 1886–7 and 1889. Most interesting narratives, illustrated by sketches, were sent home from Burma and on some other occasions, which furnished an agreeable entertainment to the home circle, and especially to the veteran, who found the sporting achievements of his own youth vividly recalled to him, sometimes repeated, sometimes perhaps outdone. His own athletic vigour and sporting tastes had descended to both sons, for, while the elder was an adventurous hunter of the pig, the younger was by general consent allowed to be the best polo player in India!

During his closing years Sir Henry had the good fortune not to be, as is the case with the majority of aged fathers, parted from his sons. Both returned from India after a comparatively brief period of service, and remained in England till after his decease. Further, both of them married to his satisfaction, and thus introduced into his home circle new members who cheered and enlivened it. After a time an arrangement was made, by which the elder son and his wife became permanent inmates of the mansion, No. 21 Charles Street, which was Sir Henry's home during the last twenty-six years of his life. Unfortunately there was no issue of this marriage, so that no patter of children's feet, or murmur of children's tongues, followed to make the house musical for him and his friends. He was not to die, however, without beholding 'his seed to the third generation.' Two children were born to the wife of the second son within three years of her marriage, both unfortunately girls, a boy being greatly desired; since among the latest of the honours conferred upon Sir Henry by the Crown was the dignity of a baronetcy, which her Majesty was pleased to grant him in the year 1891, and which, of course, could only descend to male heirs.

The winter of 1895 was exceptionally cold and trying. London was full of influenza. My own medical attendant had advised me by all means, if I could possibly manage it, to quit England, and to seek a more genial climate on the Riviera or in North Italy. I had followed his counsel and had reached my favourite winter residence of Bordighera, when, early in March, I received an alarming letter from my nephew, Harry Rawlinson, saying that his father had been struck down by the prevailing epidemic, and that the doctors thought his case very serious indeed. I hesitated whether to return to England or to await further accounts of the progress of the attack, when, on March 4, a second letter reached me, containing better news, speaking of the worst of the attack being over, and of recovery being probable. This decided me to remain where I was, which I accordingly did; but a day later, on March 5, at 3 P.M., a telegram was put into my hands, by which I learnt that the hope of recovery held out had been delusive, that the patient had not had strength to rally from the depressing effects of the disease, but had sunk exhausted at six o'clock that morning, and had quietly passed away.

Sir Henry died at the advanced age of eighty-four. He would have been eighty-five in little more than a month, since he was born on April 11. If it cannot be said that he died in the full vigour of all his faculties, since he was slightly deaf, and his conversation was less brilliant than it once had been, yet at any rate he escaped any serious decay of either mind or body, and was to the last a man of keen intellect, to whom many looked for guidance and direction. He had an almost morbid fear of continuing to hold responsible offices after he had ceased to be fit for them, and repeatedly offered his resignation of the posts which he occupied; but the wishes of his colleagues held him back, and hence he remained 'in harness' actually to the day of his demise.

CHAPTER XIX

(*Contributed by the present* Sir Henry Rawlinson)

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND OCCUPATIONS LATE IN LIFE—HIS LOVE OF SPORT—HIS EXCELLENCE AS A RACONTEUR—HIS PRIDE IN HIS LIBRARY—CUNEIFORM NOTE-BOOKS—NOBLE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD CHARACTER

For so eminent a scholar it is a curious fact that up to the age of nearly eighty Sir Henry Rawlinson was a man of active habits. His public duties as President of the Royal Geographical Society, Member of the India Council, and Trustee of the British Museum, did not allow him much leisure time; but he used to ride in Hyde Park when in London, and when in the country was particularly fond of shooting and fishing. Up to the age of seventy he was a familiar figure in Rotten Row, and during his annual summer holiday in August, September, and October, he invariably selected a country seat within reach of London where he could obtain either shooting or fishing or both. From 1865 to 1890 he occupied no less than nine different residences in the counties of Surrey, Berkshire, Hertfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, where he could enjoy the late summer and early autumn in the pursuit of field sports, accompanied by his sons and nephews. As years rolled on, his great age, coupled with the loss of his beloved wife, forced him to relinquish his accustomed visit to the country, and after 1890 he spent his holiday either in visits to his friends, or in a small house which he occupied on three occasions at Bath.

The sporting instincts of his father and uncle[1] remained as a most striking feature in the character of Sir Henry up to the end of his long life. He never ceased to be proud of his father's victory with 'Coronation' at the Derby of 1841, and a picture of the old horse always hung in a conspicuous position in his library, in sharp contrast with the Assyrian marbles on the one side and the rare books of the East in a book-case on the other. The 'Sporting Intelligence' in the 'Times' was always studied by him after he had gone through the political articles and telegrams; and there were few important events in the cricket, shooting, racing, or hunting worlds with which he was not well acquainted. He was an excellent shot, even up to the age of seventy-five, when he killed his last partridge. He enjoyed nothing more, even when he was no longer able to tramp through the turnips, than to be driven to a spot behind a hedge where the younger members of his family would drive the partridges over him. To 'wipe the eye' of one young enough to be his grandchild was by no means a rare occurrence, and was one which gave him especial pleasure. When residing at Taplow, in the year 1874, he was specially fond of going down to the river under the beautiful woods of Taplow Court or Cliveden, and, after a long, hot, and busy day in London, standing under the trees fishing in the cool waters of the river. Later on, when living at Munden (the residence of the Hon. A. Hibbert), near Watford, he would spend most of his leisure time at the excellent trout stream which flows through the grounds, and he seldom came home with an empty creel. These tastes in a man of letters are rare, but it was to a great extent by their means that a naturally strong constitution, tried by hard literary work, and a sojourn of thirty years in the East, was enabled to exceed the 'threescore years and ten' allotted by the Psalmist to the span of human life. To work the physical as well as the mental capacity is more essential to the health of the individual than the advice of innumerable physicians.

---

[1] Henry Lindow Lindow, of Lower Slaughter, Gloucestershire, in his youth a friend and companion of the Prince Regent, and a noted sportsman.

As a guest at dinner, or in a country house, or as a host in his own residence, Sir Henry excelled—his easy, cheerful, good-natured manner won for him universal popularity amongst his social as well as his scientific friends. A great experience of the customs both of Eastern and Western society, had given him such a fund of anecdote as is seldom met with in a man who has special gifts as a *raconteur*. He made his *début* in English society at a time when the sayings of 'Beau Brummell' and 'Theodore Hook' were fresh in the minds of the *élite* of London. One of his favourite stories was that which pictures the 'Beau,' when walking in Piccadilly, inadvertently stepping into a pool of mud collected in the gutter. 'What did you do?' said a friend to Brummell on hearing of it. 'What did I do?' replied the Beau, 'why, I stood still and screamed for assistance.' Another favourite story was with reference to Lord Kenyon, who, when at the house of a friend, inquired one day at luncheon whether that was '*hung* beef' on the side-board. The friend replied, 'No, my lord, but I daresay it will be if your lordship will *try* it!' Lord Kenyon was celebrated for the severity of his punishments. Yet another anecdote of a counsel, who was pleading his case before a judge, was a very favourite one. The counsel had occasion to use the word 'brougham,' in reference to the vehicle, which he pronounced 'bro-hum.' He was at once hauled over the coals by his lordship, and told that if he would pronounce the word correctly, 'broom,' he would save a syllable, his meaning would be equally clear, and he would not waste the valuable time of the court. Later on in the case, his lordship, in summing up, made use of the word 'omnibus.' Counsel was on his legs at once; he said, 'My lord, if your lordship had used the word "bus," your lordship's meaning would have been equally clear, and *two* syllables would have been saved.' History relates that the case was given against this counsel, and that his client was not best pleased with him for rashly indulging in so appropriate a repartee.

From 1872 until 1889, 21 Charles Street, which Sir Henry had purchased from Lady Molesworth, maintained its reputation as a centre for social entertainment—dinner parties and 'squashes' were weekly occurrences; and at the time when Sir Henry, as President of the Royal Geographical Society, was more or less responsible for returning the hospitalities received by the members of that Society, the spacious apartments of his private residence were fully tried. These were, however, insufficient for all the calls made upon them. In the summer of 1873, Sir Henry arranged for a large reception of the whole of the members of the Royal Geographical Society and their friends at Willis's Rooms, which in those days stood at the corner of King Street and St. James's Square. This was at the time when the entire geographical world were burning for news of Dr. Livingstone, who for a period of many months had been lost to the outer world, and buried in Central Africa. Many had given up all hope of again hearing of him. It was as Sir Henry left his house in Charles Street to proceed to this reception that a telegram was placed in his hand from Zanzibar, saying that Livingstone had been found safe and well. However, when he announced this fact to the assembly at Willis's Rooms it was naturally said that the information had been held back in order to give additional *éclat* to the party. This was not the case. It was one of those curious accidents which, on account of their extreme unlikelihood, it is difficult for the general public to believe. Nothing is so astonishing as the unexpected.

Before passing on to other subjects, there are two more stories which were such favourites with Sir Henry that they should not be left untold. The first is one related of Douglas Jerrold and Thackeray, who were walking together in Hyde Park one day, when Thackeray (a man peculiarly plain, with a short button nose) remarked that he had lately been thinking of turning Jew. 'Better let your nose turn first,' suggested Jerrold. Upon which Thackeray, piqued at this reference to his personal appearance, replied, 'Hang it, man! when you refer to my personal appearance, perhaps you will remember that my mother was renowned for her beauty and called the "Queen of the Ganges."' But Douglas Jerrold was not to be beaten, for it must be admitted that he scored another point when he replied, 'Well, in that case it must have been before its junction with the (H)oogley.' The other story relates how Sir James Hogg, when staying in Rome many years ago, was walking in the 'Corso' with a friend named 'Ram,' at that time well known in London society. As the two proceeded, they were accosted by the German Ambassador in Rome, who presented Ram with an invitation to a ball at the Embassy. Ram, who had neither asked for, nor at all wanted the invitation, at once responded, 'There must be some mistake; my name is Ram.' To which the Baron replied apologetically, 'Ah! forgive me, I make erreur, it vas die oder animal.' He meant 'Hogg.' On their way home Ram, while discussing the incident with Hogg, referred to the curious mistake of the Ambassador, which, he said, in his opinion should not have occurred, 'For my father was very well known both in English and European society, so much so in fact, that *Ram*sgate was called after him.' Hogg, who accepted this assertion with a grain of salt, replied, 'Oh! then I imagine *Mar*gate was equally called after your mother.' History relates that the two parted on less amicable terms than had been the case previously.

But to proceed now to a subject which, in the later years of life, was one of Sir Henry's chief comforts and amusements. During his extensive travels, and especially during his studies of almost all ancient Oriental and classical literature, he had collected together a library of some 2,000 to 3,000 volumes. When, on account of failing health, he was unable to mix as much as he would have wished with what was really a later generation of scientists and scholars, he derived infinite pleasure from studying, even up to the very last, his histories of bygone ages, and the cuneiform note-books, in which he had recorded many of the results of his labours. The British Museum always furnished him with copies of the inscriptions which were year by year unearthed on the various tablets and cylinders sent home to them from Mesopotamia; and in the translation of these he passed many an enjoyable afternoon. New matter was being continually brought to light. Amongst other facts was the discovery on an Assyrian tablet of an account of the Noachian deluge, which agreed in most of its more important details with that given to us in the Bible. Many other points, more especially connected with the comparative geography of Mesopotamia and Persia, constantly came before him; for there was no scholar more qualified to sift, both etymologically and geographically, the evidence available on these heads than himself. And his opinion was much valued by the authorities at the British Museum. He never travelled, or went to stay anywhere even for a few days, without taking with him his 'cuneiform note-books,' for in studying these he could enjoy a quiet hour's reflection, with more comfort to himself than with even the most interesting novel. Up to the very end he was never without these records of his past discoveries close at hand. Constant and painful attacks of gout prevented him in later years from devoting as much time as he could have wished to serious study, so that, as his leisure hours grew longer, he took greatly to the ordinary literature of the drawing-room. He devoured novels as quickly as they came out; and it was the duty of his nieces, one or two of whom usually lived with him, to produce a continual supply of fresh books for him. Sir Henry's health after 1890 was not good. He suffered much from depression, due no doubt in the first instance to the loss of his beloved wife, but exaggerated further by constant attacks of gout and neurosis, from which he suffered agonies. Having early in life twice broken his collar bone whilst pig-sticking, some particle of bone or tissue had been misplaced. This foreign substance had settled on the under part of the left arm, just above the funny bone, and in close proximity to the ulna nerve, one of the most tender spots in the human body. When this locality was attacked by inflammation, consequent on either gout or too good living, the pain became so intense, that the patient for a few moments would shout with agony. Mercifully these attacks endured for only a few minutes, and seldom occurred more than once in twenty-four hours. They were not without their use, however, for they acted as the most reliable indicator of the general health of the patient, giving warning early of any approaching disorder in other parts of the body; and it was not, perhaps, altogether unattributable to this most unpleasant weakness that, during the latter part of his long life, he generally enjoyed the perfect use of all his faculties.

There have been few instances, either among public characters or private individuals, where the personal character and high principle of the man has come out more strongly than was the case with the late Sir Henry Rawlinson. In all his actions, official and private, the main guiding factor which actuated him was justice. Nothing irritated or saddened him more than the discovery of underhand dealings on the part of his subordinates; he judged one and all by his own high standard of moral and actual right. The feelings of an English gentleman were as strongly marked in the boy of seventeen that sailed for India in 1827 as they were in the Resident at Baghdad, or in the Member of the India Council. It was strongly against his idea of honour that a public servant of her Majesty should in any way be mixed up in a commercial enterprise which could in any possible way be influenced by his official position.

It was for this reason that he constantly and steadfastly refused to become a director of any of the companies which were formed for the development of Egypt, Persia, or India. Though by no means a rich man, he would not accept any accession to his income which could be said to be derived from his having 'lent his name' to a syndicate; and it was certainly not for want of asking that his name was conspicuous by its absence at the head of company prospectuses. He was continually inundated with applications of this kind. In recent years these views seem to be looked upon as 'antiquated and old-fashioned,' but it will be generally admitted that the standard of our national character has not been enhanced by the way many names of note have been allowed to appear on prospectuses for the purpose of attracting investors. We have been drifting lately nearer, perhaps too near, to the system of financial morality prevalent on the other side of the Atlantic. Let us hope that our drifting, hardly noticed, perhaps, amongst the excitements of South African booms, may ere long be turned into the straight and upright channel, whilst we never cease repeating the words of Mr. R. Kipling, 'Lest we forget! Lest we forget!'

Sir Henry may be said to have been a man of the highest principle. Not committed to the daily performances of those religious acts and practices which to many are the essentials of an upright life, he held the broad view of doing good because it was good, because it was for the benefit of human creatures generally, and at the same time for the glorification of the Creator. Having studied profoundly the many religions of Asia and Europe, ancient and modern, his views were the reverse of dogmatic; but they were none the less truly founded on the great moral bases which now support, and which will perpetuate for ever, the cause of Christianity. The methods and practices of the followers of Mohammed had specially come under his notice in Baghdad and other parts of the East. These were viewed by him as instances of the blind obedience of an uneducated people to the written doctrine of their forefathers expressed in the Koran. And further, he has expressed his admiration for the moral code which is laid down in the bible of the Mohammedan world—a code which, though inferior to both Christianity and Buddhism, is far in advance of that of the Hindoo of India or the savage of Central Africa.

After he had passed his eightieth birthday, which he did April 11, 1890, he could not but feel that finality of life in this world, to which mortal man must necessarily come, was within measurable distance. With the wisdom of a man of business, he 'put his house in order,' in conjunction with his two sons, so that when the end came all had been foreseen and arranged for. Yet, at the evening of his long life, the transition to another state had no terror for a man of his temperament and exemplary character. The one thing for which he constantly expressed regret was that he had outlived all his contemporaries and the intimate friends of his younger days. As these were one by one taken, he felt their loss severely; until at last he found himself, to use his own expression, 'amidst the next generation, to which he did not rightly belong.' And during these last years, after a long and tiring day, when sitting in his library with his sons, as the twilight gradually faded, it was his wont to repeat his favourite poem by Longfellow, a poem so true, so simple, and so appropriate to his own noble self, that in quoting it this chapter will be brought to a suitable conclusion.

THE DAY IS DONE.

The day is done, and the darkness
  Falls from the wings of Night,
As a feather is wafted downwards
  From an eagle in his flight.

I see the lights of the village
  Gleam through the rain and the mist,
And a feeling of sadness comes o'er me,
  That my soul cannot resist:

A feeling of sadness and longing,
  That is not akin to pain;
And resembles sorrow only
  As the mist resembles the rain.

Come, read to me some poem,
  Some simple and heartfelt lay,
That shall soothe this restless feeling,
  And banish the thoughts of day.

Not from the grand old masters,
  Not from the bards sublime,
Whose distant footsteps echo
  Through the corridors of Time.

For, like strains of martial music,
  Their mighty thoughts suggest
Life's endless toil and endeavour,
  And to-night I long for rest.

Read from some humbler poet,
  Whose songs gushed from the heart,
As showers from the clouds of Summer
  Or tears from the eyelids start;

Who, through long days of labour
  And nights devoid of ease,
Still heard in his soul the music
  Of wonderful melodies.

Such songs have power to quiet
  The restless pulse of care,
And come like the benediction
  That follows after prayer.

Then read from the treasured volume
  The poem of thy choice,
And lend to the rhyme of the poet
  The beauty of thy voice.

And the night shall be filled with music,
  And the cares that infest the day
Shall fold their tents like the Arabs,
  And as silently steal away.

CHAPTER XX

POSITION WITH REGARD TO CUNEIFORM DISCOVERY—ABSOLUTE IGNORANCE OF THE SUBJECT ON QUITTING ENGLAND IN 1827—ATTENTION HOW FIRST CALLED TO IT—MATERIALS OBTAINED FROM THE ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS OF HAMADAN AND BEHISTUN IN 1835–1837—FIRST ACQUAINTANCE MADE WITH THE EARLY LABOURS OF GROTOFEND AND ST. MARTIN IN 1836—LITTLE ADVANTAGE OBTAINED FROM THESE WRITERS—FIRST TRANSLATIONS OF CUNEIFORM DOCUMENTS COMMUNICATED TO THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1837—ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE DOCUMENTS—ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE PARIS ASIATIC SOCIETY—COMMUNICATION HELD WITH M. EUGÈNE BURNOUF IN THE YEAR 1838—OBTAINS THIS WRITER'S *Mémoire* ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF HAMADAN, AND HIS *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, THE SAME YEAR—INTRODUCTION TO PROFESSOR LASSEN OF BONN THROUGH SIR GORE OUSELEY ABOUT THE SAME TIME—LETTER FROM OUSELEY—LETTER FROM LASSEN—OBTAINS LASSEN'S *Altpersische Keilinschriften von Persepolis* SOON AFTERWARDS, CONTAINING COPIES OF THE INSCRIPTIONS PUBLISHED BY NIEBUHR, LE BRUN, AND PORTER—DECIPHERMENT OF THE PERSIAN CUNEIFORM ALPHABET—MODE OF PROCEDURE—GRADUAL PROGRESS—ULTIMATE RESULT ARRIVED AT—STUDY OF THE CONTENTS OF THE PERSIAN CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS, 1839 AND 1844—COMPOSITION AND PUBLICATION OF THE FIRST CUNEIFORM MEMOIR, 1844–1846—RECEPTION OF THE MEMOIR AT HOME AND ABROAD—STUDY OF THE BABYLONIAN CUNEIFORM, 1846–1849—PUBLICATION OF SECOND CUNEIFORM MEMOIR, 'ON THE BABYLONIAN TRANSLATION OF THE GREAT PERSIAN INSCRIPTION AT BEHISTUN,' 1851—DECIPHERMENT AND TRANSLATION OF ASSYRIAN DOCUMENTS, 1848–1851—STUDY OF THE MEDIAN OR SCYTHIC CUNEIFORM CONJOINTLY WITH MR. E. NORRIS, 1851–1855—STUDY OF OTHER VARIETIES OF CUNEIFORM WRITING—TESTIMONY OF PROFESSOR JULES OPPERT.

WHEN Henry Creswicke Rawlinson in 1827, at the age of seventeen, quitted England for the East, he was as absolutely ignorant as the ordinary schoolboy of that time of the entire subject of cuneiform writing and cuneiform decipherment. All that he knew was, that somewhere in the East there were inscriptions and other documents in a strange character, commonly called 'the arrow-headed,' that had up to that time baffled inquirers, and was generally spoken of as a hopelessly insoluble problem, somewhat resembling that of 'squaring the circle' in mathematics, or the discovery of the North Pole in practical geography. The fact that inquiry upon the subject had not altogether ceased, that there were still among continental scholars a number of persons engaged in the investigation and bent on pursuing it, was wholly unknown to him; and it does not appear that either before he left England, or upon the voyage to Bombay, or in the earlier years of his Indian residence, anything occurred, as it so easily might, to bring the subject under his serious consideration, or in any way to turn his attention towards it. It was not until his first period of Indian residence had been brought to a close, and the circumstances of his military career had transferred him to the country where the arrow-headed character was once in general use, and where rock inscriptions in the character still existed in some abundance, that the curiosity of the young subaltern on the matter came to be aroused, and his time and thought to be given to it. Then, however, within a very short space, it caught hold of his attention, and soon aroused in him the highest and warmest interest. He was enough of a scholar, and with sufficiently scholarly tastes, to be attracted to any study that possessed anything of a literary character; and, no doubt, the obscurity and mystery which attached to this particular branch of Oriental literature enhanced its attractions. In the year 1835, the one following his arrival in Persia, Lieutenant Rawlinson, on first visiting Hamadan and seeing the cuneiform inscriptions there, made a careful and elaborate copy of them,[1] and almost immediately set himself to work, with the industry and perseverance that characterised him, to analyse their contents, and speculate upon their interpretation. He found the two inscriptions to coincide throughout, except in three groups, and even in these three groups there was a certain amount of identity—the group which occupied the second place in one of the inscriptions corresponding with the group which occupied the first place in the other inscription, thus serving determinately to connect the two inscriptions together, and suggesting the idea that if, as seemed most probable, the three variant groups represented the names of three kings, they revealed a genealogical succession. Applying to them the names of three successive Persian kings, it was found that the only ones which fitted were those of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, which were assumed tentatively to be correct, and which furnished probable identifications of the phonetic value of twelve characters. Materials furnished by the earlier paragraphs of the great inscription of Behistun soon afterwards suggested values for six additional characters, and in this way, by the close of 1836, Lieutenant Rawlinson had constructed for himself an Old Persian cuneiform alphabet of eighteen characters, whose values he considered to be ascertained.

Up to this time he had no knowledge at all of the antecedent or contemporary labours of continental scholars, but had worked out his conclusions entirely from his own observation and reasoning; but in the autumn of 1836 he obtained access to two works, which made him acquainted with the conclusions come to on the subject by some of the more advanced of the European investigators. These works were the 'Ideen' of Heeren in the German edition of 1815, which contained a paper by Professor Grotofend on his own cuneiform discoveries, and the other Klaproth's 'Aperçu de l'Origine des Diverses Ecritures,' in which there was a copy of the cuneiform alphabet of St. Martin. But it appears that he obtained little advantage from these fresh sources of information. 'Far from deriving any assistance,' he says himself, 'from either of these sources, I could not doubt that my own knowledge of the character, verified by its application to many names which had not come under the observation of Grotofend and St. Martin, was *much in advance* of their respective, and in some measure conflicting, systems of interpretation.'[1] Grotofend's alphabet of thirty letters was correct, according to his views and according to those which have ultimately prevailed, in eight cases only, wrong in twenty-two, while St. Martin's of twenty-seven was right in ten, wrong in seventeen.[2]

---

[1] See above, p. 56. The inscriptions copied and analysed were those of the first or Persian columns.

The perusal of these works encouraged the young investigator to make his first communication on the subject of his own labours in connection with cuneiform discovery to the learned societies of Europe. In the year 1838, he forwarded directly to the Royal Asiatic Society of London, and, indirectly, to the Asiatic Society of Paris, copies of a translation of the first two paragraphs of the 'Behistun Inscription,'[3] which recorded the titles and genealogy of Darius the son of Hystaspes. Flattering acknowledgments of his communications were received from both quarters. Mr. Briggs, the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, wrote as follows:—

---

[1] See the 'Memoir on Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions in General, and on that of Behistun in Particular,' published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. x. p. 7; henceforth quoted as 'First Cuneiform Memoir.'

[2] *Ibid.* vol. x. p. 6, note 3.

[3] Sir Henry observes, writing in 1845, that 'these paragraphs would

London, 6th of April, 1838.

Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 1st of January from Teheran to the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society was received here on the 14th of March, and on being submitted to the Council was perused with great interest. I am directed to state that the Society is extremely happy to learn from you that there is a prospect of obtaining the contents of the cuneiform tablets known to be so extensively spread throughout both Iraks, and it will thankfully receive and publish anything new which you may have the goodness to send on the subject.

Having communicated the substance of the Society's instructions, I shall proceed to make a few observations myself on the very interesting and important undertaking in which you are engaged, and venture to throw out some hints which may perhaps be useful to one situated as you are, and removed from the information which European libraries and scholars might afford you if on the spot. On the receipt of your letter I addressed one to Dr. Julius Mohl, of Paris, a very learned Orientalist, and who was intimately acquainted with Dr. Schultz, the Persian traveller, and the late M. St. Martin. I begged of Dr. Mohl to communicate with our common friend, M. Eugène Burnouf, on the subject of your letter, and requested to be furnished with any information or work that might assist you in your labours; and I confidently hope to receive before the next despatch goes off on the 8th of May a full

---

have been wholly inexplicable according to the systems of interpretation adopted either by Grotofend or St. Martin'; and yet that 'the original French and German alphabets' of these writers 'were the only extraneous sources of information which, up to that period, he had been enabled to consult' ('First Cuneiform Memoir,' p. 7).

/

communication from either one or both of these gentlemen. M. E. Burnouf is one of the most profound Oriental scholars in Europe, and I believe the last who has occupied himself in translating the cuneiform character. He has succeeded in making out (according to his own alphabet, and from his thorough acquaintance with the Sanscrit and the Zend languages) two inscriptions, one procured at Murghab, near Hamadan, and the other at Van, by the late Dr. Schultz, and has written an essay in 200 quarto pages on the subject, but which is too cumbersome to send by post. His alphabet differs from that of Professor Grotofend and M. St. Martin, and, as you have both these, I believe, I now send that of Burnouf, showing the differences between it and those of his predecessors in the same study.

I hope, when you send anything to this Society, you will give us the copies of the inscriptions, the value of each letter, and the translation. In the orthography I would venture to suggest your adopting Sir William Jones' in preference to Gilchrist's or any other. Sir W. Jones' is universally adopted by all the learned of Europe, and is generally understood by all the nations of the West, which is an advantage that no other mode of writing possesses.[1]

I am, dear Sir,
Yours very faithfully,
John Briggs.

To Major Rawlinson.

The other acknowledgment was from an English member of the Asiatic Society of Paris, Mr. C. Boileau Elliot, who was authorised by that Society to make his communication. The letter ran as follows :—

Paris, Rue du Colisée 23, April 21, 1838.

Dear Sir,—A few days ago I received from one of the members of the Royal Asiatic Society of London a copy of your most interesting copy of the commencement of the Cuneiform Inscription at Bisitoun (Behistun), which I took the liberty of exhibiting at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Paris held last night. This Society, deeply sensible of the benefit you have already conferred on Science by forwarding to Europe the first copy of a portion of the famous inscription in question, proposed your nomination as an Honorary Member, official information of which will doubtless reach you in due course. In the meantime they requested me to write, to beg the favour of you to make every possible exertion to secure and transmit to them (as an Englishman I must add, not before, but at the same time when you transmit the same to our own Asiatic Society) a copy of the remainder of the inscription with your translation of it; by doing which you will confer an exceeding obligation on the Society in particular, and on the scientific world in general.

---

[1] Some advice follows on the best modes of taking copies of inscriptions, which would be regarded as somewhat antiquated at the present day.

It will give me great pleasure to be the medium of remitting your communication to the French Society, of which—as the form only is as yet imperfect—we are brother members. I am likely to remain in France for the next year or two, though not at my present residence; and as your communications with England are probably more direct and facile than with France, I shall be obliged by your directing to me at 47 Portland Place, London, whence I shall receive your packets through the Foreign Office.

Feeling that a love of science establishes between men of letters a fellowship of sentiment on matters pertaining to literature, I make no apology for thus addressing you.[1]

I remain, dear Sir,
Yours very faithfully,
C. Boileau Elliot.

P.S.—I shall send a duplicate of this letter by way of England.

Major Rawlinson, to the care of H. Britannic
Majesty's Minister, Teheran, Persia.

---

[1] A few remarks of a private nature are here omitted.

Further, the Royal Asiatic Society of London, or rather of Great Britain and Ireland, transmitted to Lieutenant Rawlinson on April 21, 1838, their diploma as Corresponding Member, and the Société Asiatique de Paris transmitted a similar document on July 13 of the same year.

It was one of the results of these communications between my brother and two such great and well-established learned societies that he shortly became known to the principal cuneiform investigators of all countries, was received by them as a brother, and in several instances presented with their works by their authors.

Among others, M. Eugène Burnouf, probably through the representations of M. Mohl, was induced to take an interest in the young aspirant to literary honours, and, in the summer of 1838, kindly forwarded to him to Teheran one of his most valuable works, his 'Mémoire' on the cuneiform inscriptions of Hamadan. Lieutenant Rawlinson responded by a letter on the differences that he found still to exist between his own alphabet and that of the French *savants*, which he transmitted through the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr. Briggs. Soon afterwards he obtained through M. Mohl the most important of M. Burnouf's works—the admirable 'Commentaire sur le Yaçna,' to which he frequently expresses himself as immensely indebted. His decipherment indeed of the Persian cuneiform writing was not thereby much advanced, but he obtained a clue to the interpretation which was invaluable, and which proved of the greatest service. Zend, an early form of Persian, though not perhaps so early as the form employed in the inscriptions, under the critical analysis of M. Burnouf, had its orthographical and grammatical structure clearly and scientifically explained; and Lieutenant Rawlinson found himself by these means enabled to obtain a general knowledge of the grammatical structure of the language of the inscriptions[1] which could scarcely have been procurable in any other way.

It was to his possession of the 'Commentaire sur le Yaçna' that my brother mainly ascribed the success of his early translations, for, although Sanskrit and Modern Persian might each have furnished a clue to a certain extent, Zend approached nearer to Achæmenian Persian than either, and by means of it, after the work of decipherment was completed, the work of interpretation was rendered comparatively easy.

Among other prominent Orientalists to whom Lieut. Rawlinson obtained epistolary introduction about this period were Sir Gore Ouseley and Professor Lassen. The former distinguished scholar had the kind thought of placing the Bonn professor, then at the zenith of his reputation, in communication with the cuneiform neophyte, and authorised his writing directly to him. The latter took advantage of the authorisation and addressed a letter to Lieutenant Rawlinson from Bonn, together with a memorandum upon the Persian cuneiform alphabet, on August 19, 1838. Shortly afterwards Sir Gore Ouseley notified to my brother what he had done, and took the opportunity of complimenting him on his successful labours. The following were the letters which passed:

---

[1] 'First Cuneiform Memoir,' p. 9.

Letter of Sir Gore Ouseley to Lieut. Rawlinson.

Royal Asiatic Society's House, Grafton Street, London,
October 30, 1838.

Dear Sir,—As a fellow-labourer in Oriental discovery I trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in placing you in communication with Professor Lassen, a young man of great talent and research, whose personal acquaintance I had the good fortune to make at the University of Bonn, when I lately travelled on the Rhine.

The R.A. Society, of which I am an unworthy vice-president, feel most truly grateful for your very valuable letter on the deciphering the cuneiform inscriptions, and hope to hear shortly from you on this most interesting subject.

Wishing you the most complete success, I beg to subscribe myself,

Dear Sir, yours very faithfully,
Gore Ouseley.

To Major Rawlinson.

Letter of Professor Lassen to Lieut. Rawlinson.

Bonn, August 19th, 1838.

Sir,—Sir Gore Ouseley will have the kindness to explain to you how it has happened that I, though a perfect stranger to you, have presumed to address the following memorandum to you. I have done so, not from any expectation that you would derive any great benefit from this brief sketch, being yourself so far advanced in the study of the arrow-headed characters, but merely with the hope that it might be agreeable to you to learn the state of the question as it now stands on the continent of Europe. To a gentleman so perfectly acquainted with the subject I have not thought it necessary to enter into long details, and preferred stating, as briefly as possible, the reasons which have led (*sic*) me in assigning to each character its value. I have embodied in the following memorandum the corrections introduced into my published alphabet, as well by others as by myself.

Allow me, sir, to assure you that all learned in Europe take the deepest interest in the researches you are at present carrying on in Persia, and confidently hope that your zeal and sagacity will lead to the preservation and final elucidation of those very interesting and important monuments.

Believe me, Sir,
Your very obedient and humble servant,
CHRISTIAN LASSEN.

Lassen's first memorandum, in 1838, was followed by another in 1839, and that by a general interchange of ideas on the subject of the Persian cuneiform alphabet, which resulted in an almost exact agreement between the Bonn professor and the English subaltern officer as to the phonetic value of the various characters, which were found to amount to between thirty and forty.

Another work obtained about this time, but by what means I am unable to state, was Professor Lassen's memoir on the 'Altpersische Keilinschriften von Persepolis,' in which the principal Persian cuneiform inscriptions of that locality were subjected to analysis, and attempts made at translating them. These attempts were not very happy, but they probably furnished the English investigator with a certain number of hints whereof he took advantage.

Altogether, it would appear that by the summer of 1839 Lieut. Rawlinson had obtained a full insight into the results of the cuneiform investigations up to that date conducted on the continent of Europe, and had found that the latest conclusions, so far as alphabetical identification was concerned, coincided almost exactly with his own. His unassisted studies, carried on in Persia during the years 1835–37, had led him to results almost identical with those which had been reached by continental scholars during the same period,[1] especially by M. Eugène Burnouf and Professor Christian Lassen. As, however, those gentlemen had publicly announced their discoveries so soon as made, whereas his had remained unpublished, he at no time pretended to contest with them the priority of alphabetical discovery.[2]

The mode in which Lieut. Rawlinson arrived at his alphabetic identifications has been already, to a certain extent, explained.[3] The foundation of his system was, no doubt, conjecture. As when an attempt is made to penetrate a cipher, the would-be discoverer necessarily begins with guesses, and works on by assuming them to be true, till they land him in inextricable difficulties, when he begins again, so my brother, beginning with the two assumptions—that the three peculiar groups in the Hamadan inscriptions were Royal Persian names, and that they designated three monarchs in direct genealogical succession—proceeded to test his conjectures by applying to the groups the names of consecutive Persian monarchs, as handed down by history. There were not many such combinations, since in several cases sons did not succeed their father, and in others the three consecutive kings did not bear three different names, but one of the three names was repeated. Thus, there remained three combinations only which could be tried. It happened that that of Hystaspes,

---

[1] My brother claimed to have obtained his knowledge of the phonetic value of *two characters only* from the continental scholars—viz. of that representing *y* from Professor Lassen, and of that representing *k* from M. Burnouf. In several cases, however, where he was in doubt, the judgment of his continental brethren determined him. (See the 'First Cuneiform Memoir,' p. 8, note, and p. 10, note.)

[2] *Ibid.* p. 11.

[3] See above, p. 309.

Darius, Xerxes, which stood the first in chronological order, was the first submitted to examination by the would-be decipherer, and was found to answer all reasonable tests. The sibilant which was required for the third letter of the first name appeared also as the last letter of the second name, and though not as the last letter, yet as the last letter but one of the third. It also occurred as the second element in the third name (Xerxes), where a sibilant was needed to represent the second element of the Greek ξ. It is true that a different form held the fifth place in the first name, but many Oriental languages have more than one sibilant. Again, the third element in the second name, which required to be *r*, if the trio selected were the right one, occurred also in the third name in about the place where an *r* was wanted. One element, it must be allowed, created some difficulty, the third character in the third name being identical with the fourth in the second name, whereas in Greek and Roman transcriptions of the two kings' names Darius and Xerxes, besides the *r* and the *s*, there was no third element common to them. However, in course of time an explanation was found for this anomaly in the Persian orthography of their proper names, which differed considerably from the Greek. Moreover, it was noticeable that there were no flagrant anomalies, as there might easily have been. The names were all of about the proper length. They were not only different, but *began* with different letters. At any rate they presented no such difficulty as necessitated their being given up. When other names were tried, the case was very different. 'Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes' suggested that the third name should be twice as long as the second, and should be in great part identical with it, or at any rate very similar. 'Xerxes, Artaxerxes, Darius' suggested the same difference of length between the first name and the second, and the same degree of similarity. Moreover, the identical letters occurred in entirely wrong places. These lists were thus of necessity discarded, and the first conjecture fallen back upon.

It remained to transliterate the entire Behistun inscription, or as much of it as had been accurately copied, according to the twelve characters assumed to have been thus identified. When this had been done with the first paragraph of the inscription, a new set of names discovered themselves. That of Hystaspes recurred;[1] and to that of Hystaspes was attached a string of others who were evidently his ancestors. Now, the ancestors of Hystaspes were well known, the complete list being given by the classical writers. Applying to the letters of these names the phonetic value previously obtained from the trio 'Hystaspes, Darius, Xerxes,' twenty-one out of the twenty-eight letters were found exactly to suit their place. The remainder were new forms, and furnished the alphabet with four new letters, *m*, *n*, *h*, and a form which has ultimately been read as *ch*, though the Greeks rendered it by *sigma*. In a similar way other characters were determined either from proper names, or from very common Persian words, of the sound and meaning of which there could be little doubt.

When in this way, and by interchange of argument among cuneiform scholars,[2] the entire alphabet, with the exception of some half dozen rarely occurrent characters, had been finally determined and fixed, transition was naturally made to the second branch of the study—'the only really valuable part of it,' as Sir Henry himself observes[1]—the translation or interpretation of the documents. And here Sir Henry claims a very different position with respect to his share in the work, and in the priority of discovery, from that which he was always content to occupy, so far as Old Persian *alphabetic* investigation and determination are concerned. The translations of Professor Grotofend and St. Martin in his opinion were altogether erroneous, and merited no attention whatever. M. Burnouf's were somewhat superior, but they were exceedingly scanty, and, being based upon a faulty and defective alphabet, they were full of important errors. 'His incidental examination of the geographical errors contained in one of Niebuhr's Persepolitan inscriptions,' he says, 'constitutes by far the most interesting portion of his researches; yet in a list which exhibits the titles of twenty-four of the most celebrated nations of ancient times he has correctly deciphered ten only of the number.' Professor Lassen's translations again, though they had the advantage over Burnouf's owing to his improved alphabet, still abounded with errors, not even the shortest inscription being correctly rendered, and the longer showing many places where both the etymology of the words and the grammatical structure of the language had been misunderstood. Sir Henry, having an immensely larger field of material at his disposal, with a considerable knowledge of the Sanskrit, Zend, and modern Persian tongues, found the work of interpretation comparatively easy, and mainly based his claims to originality, so far as the Persian inscriptions were concerned, on the fact of having been the first person to present to the world a literal and (as he believed) an almost wholly correct grammatical translation of two hundred (afterwards increased to four hundred) long lines of cuneiform writing—the greater part in so perfect a state as to afford ample and certain grounds for a minute orthographical and etymological analysis, and the purport of which to the historian could not fail to be of equal interest with the peculiarities of its language to the philologer.[1] The studies which enabled him to produce this result covered the greater part of the years 1839 and 1844. The result was given to the public in the years 1844–46, by the publication in the Royal Asiatic Society's 'Journal' of 'The Persian Cuneiform Inscription at Behistun, deciphered and translated; with a Memoir on Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions in general, and on that of Behistun in particular,' by Major H. C. Rawlinson, C.B., of the Honourable East India Company's Bombay Service, and Political Agent at Baghdad. The general accuracy of the translation was at once admitted; and, on the whole, it may be said to have fairly stood the test of time, the author having found comparatively little to correct when he revised it for the second volume of my 'Herodotus,' in 1858, and but few alterations having been made in it by the Editor of the first volume of the 'Records of the Past,' in 1873. The author's own estimate of his work upon its completion is one which later criticism has justified:—

---

[1] In almost, but not exactly, the same form, the first vowel (*y* or *i*) being elided.

[2] Among these Professor Westergaard, the Danish scholar, must be especially noticed. Major Rawlinson opened a correspondence with this eminent savant early in 1843, and received several letters from him in the course of that year, containing cuneiform inscriptions and suggesting interpretations.

---

[1] 'This branch of the study,' says Sir Henry, 'although depending upon, and necessarily following, the correct determination of the characters, is of course the only really valuable part of the inquiry. It is, in fact, the harvest springing from the previous cultivation of a rugged soil, and, as far as I am aware, it has been hitherto but poorly reaped' ('First Cuneiform Memoir,' p. 11).

---

[1] 'First Cuneiform Memoir,' p. 13.

I do not affect (he says) to consider my translations as unimpeachable; those who expect in the present paper to see the cuneiform inscriptions rendered and explained with as much certainty and clearness as the ancient tablets of Greece and Rome will be lamentably disappointed. It must be remembered that the Persian of the ante-Alexandrian ages has long ceased to be a living language; that its interpretation depends on the collateral aid of the Sanskrit, the Zend, and the corrupted dialects which in the forests and mountains of Persia have survived the wreck of the old tongue; and that in a few instances, where these cognate and derivative languages have failed to perpetuate the ancient roots, or where my limited acquaintance with the different dialects may have failed to discover the connection, I have thus been obliged to assign an arbitrary meaning obtained by comparative propriety of application in a very limited field of research. I feel, therefore, that in a few cases my translations will be subject to doubt, and that, as materials of analysis continue to be accumulated, and more experienced Orientalists prosecute the study, it may be found necessary to alter or modify some of the significations that I have assigned; but at the same time I do not, and cannot, doubt, but that I have accurately determined the general application of every paragraph, and that I have been thus enabled to exhibit a correct historical outline, possessing the weight of royal and contemporaneous recital, of many great events which preceded the rise and marked the career of one of the most celebrated of the early sovereigns of Persia.[1]

The reception which the Memoir obtained, both at home and abroad, was in the highest degree satisfactory. From Paris the author received, while the publication was still going on, the diploma of Corresponding Member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut de France. In London he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society and a Member of the Royal Society of Literature. From Berlin he received a diploma as Associate of the Academy of Sciences. Oxford, as soon as he returned to England, conferred on him (1850) her honorary degree of D.C.L. He was, in fact, universally accredited as the Champollion of the new decipherment. What a brother-scholar said of the translation shortly after his decease was to a great extent acknowledged as soon as the work saw the light—'It is allowable to say that, after Rawlinson, it was only possible for other scholars to obtain gleanings in the field of Persian Cuneiform interpretation.'[1]

---

[1] 'First Cuneiform Memoir,' p. 13.

From the study of the Persian cuneiform character and documents, which had occupied him, with one interval, from 1835 to 1846, Sir Henry Rawlinson passed in 1846 to that of the far more difficult, and far more complicated, Babylonian character and language, which formed the chief subject of his investigation and researches from 1846 onwards. In the remoter times of cuneiform study it had been usual for investigators to speak loosely of '*the* cuneiform writing,' '*the* cuneiform character,' and even of '*the* cuneiform language'; but very little progress could have been made in the investigation of the phenomena before it must have been remarked that in different inscriptions entirely distinct characters were employed, whence a suspicion would necessarily arise, that the languages to which they gave expression were also different. In point of fact, it was very soon perceived that, *at the least*, three distinct classes of cuneiform writing must be recognised, and it was agreed to give them, provisionally at any rate, ethnic names—the names of great nations, by whom the countries wherein the writings are at present found were anciently inhabited. One, that which decidedly held the first place in Persia, was called 'the Persian Cuneiform'; another, which in Persia held a subordinate place, but had almost exclusive possession of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, was called 'the Babylonian Cuneiform'; while the third, which was more widely spread than either of the other two, was, perhaps not very happily, called 'Median,' or 'the Median Cuneiform.' Cuneiform decipherment, it was early felt and admitted, could not be regarded as having attained to anything like completeness until, at any rate, these three clearly distinct forms had been subjected to an equally rigid investigation, and equally yielded up their secrets to the investigator. Accordingly, Sir Henry, or Major Rawlinson, as he then was, no sooner felt that he had exhausted the first branch of the inquiry—Persian Cuneiforms—than he addressed himself with his accustomed vigour and energy to the second branch—Babylonian Cuneiforms, to which he had long been looking forward, and for which he had long been making careful preparation. In the course of the year 1847 he had copied accurately, and at some risk (as already related [1]), the entire series of Babylonian inscriptions at Behistun. In the same and following years he had made transcripts from the Nineveh marbles, as they passed Baghdad on their way to England. Simultaneously, he had devoted himself to the study of the Hebrew and Arabic languages.[2] In 1848 he gave himself wholly to the task of Babylonian decipherment.

---

[1] M. Oppert, in the *Compte Rendu des Séances de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, No. 6, 1895.

His task was rendered infinitely easier than it would have been otherwise by the fact, which no intelligent observer was ever found to doubt, that in the great inscription at Behistun—as in the Achæmenian inscriptions generally—the second column was a translation, or at any rate an equivalent, of the first. Thus the powers or values of the characters, instead of being merely conjectured, could be almost certainly ascertained from the many proper names which had to be represented in the Babylonian column wherever they had occurred in the Persian. As these proper names amounted to nearly a hundred, the material upon which it was possible to work was superabundant. The first trial was made upon the names that occurred in the Babylonian 'Detached Inscriptions,' which were easy of access, and happened to be peculiarly well-cut and legible. These inscriptions furnished a list of sixteen proper names of men, and suggested a phonetic value for forty-six characters. Subsequently, the mode adopted with these sixteen names was extended to those which occurred in the main document itself, with the somewhat startling result, that the characters employed appeared to amount to some hundreds, and the system employed appeared to be exceedingly complicated and unusual. In the first place, it was soon seen that the same sound might be expressed by several different signs, which sometimes (perhaps generally) had a certain resemblance, but occasionally were as different as possible. Secondly, it appeared that the characters constituted, not an alphabet, but a syllabarium, the elementary consonants, *b*, *c*, *d*, *f*, *g*, &c., having no representatives, but, *en revanche*, in combination with a vowel, being represented six times over. The Babylonians acknowledged three only principal vowels, *a*, *i*, and *u*; and, seeing that these three vowels could, each of them, be associated with a consonantal sound in two different ways, preceding it or following it, they, for the most part, assigned to each consonantal sound six forms, representing the sound as followed or preceded by each of the three vowel sounds. Thus, the guttural *k* appeared in six wholly different forms, which respectively represented the sounds *ka*, *ki*, *ku*, and *ak*, *ik*, *uk*; the labial *p* had the same number of six forms, viz., *pa*, *pi*, *pu*, and *ap*, *ip*, *up*; the liquid *m* blossomed out into the six forms *ma*, *mi*, *mu*, and *am*, *im*, *um*, and the same completeness belonged to the consonantal sounds *l*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *sh*, and *v*. Other consonants, however, for some inscrutable reason, were mulcted of this full luxuriance. The gutturals *kh* and *g*, the labial *b*, and the dental *d* had three forms only, *kha*, *khi*, *khu*, *ba*, *bi*, *bu*, &c., &c. Next, it appeared that a large amount of the signs represented what may be called completed syllables, syllables where a vowel sound was enclosed between two consonantal ones, *e.g.*, *bar*, *sar*, *sin*, *bit*, *tur*, and the like. In addition to these, a number of signs turned out to be purely 'determinative'; that is, to show that the word whereto each was attached was a word of a certain class, *e.g.*, the name of a god, the name of a man, of a country, a metal, a month, &c. Finally, as research went on, it became distinctly evident that a certain number of the signs used were 'polyphones,' that is, stood in different places for different sounds, the same form, for instance, standing in one place for *mat*, and in another for *kur*. The whole system thus appeared to be extraordinarily complicated; and it was only after several years of most careful study that Sir Henry ventured to put before the public his solution of the 'Babylonian Cuneiform' problem in a form similar to that in which he had previously published his solution of the Persian problem.

---

[1] See above, pp. 145, 155.

[2] Supra, p. 157

The Babylonian Memoir, published in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society' in the year 1851, comprised first, a copy of the great Babylonian inscription of Behistun in the original (Babylonian) character, with an interlined transliteration of the same, and a literal translation of it into Latin, printed on seventeen plates, and extending to a hundred and twelve long lines of cuneiform writing; secondly, nine smaller detached inscriptions from the same place, together with three short epigraphs from Nakhsh-i-Rustam, similarly transliterated and translated; thirdly, a list of 246 Babylonian and Assyrian characters,[1] with their phonetic powers, ideographic value, if any, and phonetic powers arising from ideographic values; fourthly, an analysis of the Babylonian text of the great inscription, with an English translation, down to the end of the first column (38 lines of the cuneiform text); and fifthly, the commencement of a 'Memoir on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions,' unfortunately never completed, which deals with two, but two only, of the Assyrian characters, the signs for *a* and *e*.

This essay, incomplete and imperfect as it was, laid open to the learned world, and indeed to students generally, the entire subject of Babylonian and Assyrian Cuneiform, giving them a mass of material on which to work ample for an exhaustive inquiry, and at the same time supplying them with a theory which they might examine, test, criticise, dissent from, and supersede, if they were able. It is not too much to say that, whatever defects and imperfections in details may have been discovered and pointed out by the numerous acute critics of diverse nationalities who brought their varied and trained powers to bear on the subject, no general confutation of Sir Henry Rawlinson's reasonings, no reversal of his theory, has been effected. Assyrian Cuneiform study, as developed, whether in England or on the Continent, whether by Fox Talbot, George Smith, Theophilus Pinches, and Professor Sayce, or by M. Jules Oppert, M. François Lenormant, M. J. Halévy, and others, has been based and has rested on Sir Henry Rawlinson's exposition of the Babylonian version of the great Behistun inscription of Darius Hystaspis, and has found this basis a solid and secure foundation. He did thus for the second branch of cuneiform research almost more than he had done for the first; since in the first he had for predecessors Eugène Burnouf and Christian Lessen, while in the second he had no predecessor, and cannot be said to have owed much even to his contemporary fellow-labourers, Dr. Edward Hincks and Dr. Jules Oppert.

---

[1] M. Oppert makes the number of distinct characters amount to 318. (*Expédition Scientifique en Mésopotamie*, vol. ii. p. 120.)

The Babylonian Memoir was followed within a brief space by a number of short publications, chiefly in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' or in the 'Athenæum,' on the subject of the Assyrian documents disinterred by Mr. Layard, Mr. Loftus, and himself at Nineveh, whereby the knowledge of the Assyrian Cuneiform, slightly distinct from the Babylonian, was advanced and promoted. These publications, however, were rather historical than philological; and, though it is necessary to mention them in the present place, they need not be further dwelt upon.

It has been said that Sir Henry Rawlinson 'had nothing to do' with the decipherment of the third form of cuneiform writing—that which has been called, somewhat inappropriately, Median or Medic.[1] This, however, is not strictly correct. No doubt he made over to Mr. Edwin Norris in a great measure the consideration of this branch of the inquiry, and the publication of the 'Memoir on the Scythic Version of the Behistun Inscription' (1852), intended as a companion to the Persian and Babylonian Memoirs of Sir Henry Rawlinson, was entrusted to him; but the two were to a large extent fellow-labourers in this field; they consulted together; and I have in my possession letters[1] wherein Mr. Norris requests Sir Henry's views on difficult points in the etymology and the interpretation. Moreover, Sir Henry himself published more than one short notice on the subject, as, for instance, in his letters to the Asiatic Society and the 'Athenæum' in the year 1853 on 'Inscriptions in real *bonâ-fide* Scythian Languages allied more or less with the so-called Median Language of the Achæmenian Inscriptions,'[2] and in his 'Notes on the Primitive Babylonian Language,' in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society' for 1866. Indeed, as Sir Henry Rawlinson was among the very first to enter upon the examination of the so-called Median, and published his general views on the subject in his 'First Cuneiform Memoir'[3] as early as the year 1846, so he continued always to devote considerable attention, if not to the Achæmenian Median itself, yet at any rate to the cognate Scythic dialects—the primi-

---

[1] See the obituary notice of M. Henri Cordier in the *Compte Rendu des Séances de la Société de Géographie de Paris* (No. 6, 1895), where

---

M. Oppert is quoted as saying, 'Rawlinson *n'a rien eu à faire avec* l'inscription médique, la troisième des "langues maîtresses" que, suivant l'expression heureuse d'un maître, il avait plu à Darius de parler à son empire sur le rocher de Béhistun.'

[1] In one of these letters, dated September 11, 1863, Mr. Norris says: 'Many thanks for your values of unknown signs, which enabled me to get on with the inscription. Several I saw after I had written, but for the most part I was in ignorance.'

[2] *Athenæum* of February 19 and June 18, 1853 (pp. 228 and 741–42).

[3] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. x. pp. 32–39.

tive Babylonian or Accadian, of which he was the first to point out the existence,[1] the Elymæan, and the Armenian. It must be granted, however, that the conclusions to which he came with respect to the third—the Median or Scythic—branch of cuneiform inquiry are to be gathered only from scattered and occasional notices in scientific publications, and are nowhere embodied in such an elaborate and bulky work as the 'First Cuneiform Memoir' on the Persian Cuneiform inscriptions, which runs to above six hundred pages, or even as the 'Second Cuneiform Memoir' on the Babylonian transcript of the great Persian inscription at Behistun, which runs to above a hundred and fifty pages.

Doubtless it is to be regretted that even these main works of the great cuneiform discoverer are incomplete. The Babylonian Memoir, while completing the transcription, transliteration, and Latin translation of the Behistun inscription, pursues the analysis of the text only to the end of the first column, and breaks off in the account begun of the alphabet at the second letter. The Persian Memoir terminates abruptly, not only in the middle of a chapter, but in the middle of a word. The many avocations of the writer may be accepted as to some extent an excuse for this want of finish, but it cannot be denied that in his character there was an element of impatience which made prolonged labour at a set task distasteful to him. He liked the first plunge into a subject, and the broad views and bold outlines which are suitable at the inception of a new work; he disliked the elaboration of details, and the careful working out in due proportion of all the subordinate matters which are necessary in order to produce finish and completeness. It may be said that he did the work of a pioneer rather than that of a thorough and perfect explorer. Still, his position in the front rank of cuneiform discoverers and decipherers is indisputable, and has been generously borne witness to since his decease by one of those best entitled to compete with him for the absolute pre-eminence. M. Jules Oppert, the learned Professor of Assyriology in the Collège de France, has thus written of his rival :—[1]

---

[1] See the notice of 'The Primitive Inhabitants of Babylonia' in a communication to the Royal Asiatic Society, read on December 1, 1855, and a further notice in the *Athenæum* of December 8, in the same year.

> Rawlinson était un homme d'un génie prime-sautier, et, ce qui est encore plus rare, il avait le don de tomber juste. On peut dire de lui, que presque toutes les idées qu'il a énoncées étaient vraies. Il a donné le branle à toute cette étude plus que Hincks, qui l'a précédé dans quelques points, mais qui avait l'esprit plus irlandais et plus étrange que Rawlinson, qui était Anglais et pratique. C'était en outre un homme d'un grand courage personnel; il se fit hisser sur un échafaudage le long de l'immense rocher de Béhistoun, à 300 pieds au-dessus du sol, pour copier et pour estamper cette grande inscription en trois langues, dont on doit le texte à son courage seul. La planchette sur laquelle il était assis était tenue par des cordes confiées aux mains d'ouvriers persans, qui à tout moment pouvaient le jeter dans l'abîme. C'était un homme qui avait de la méthode dans tout ce qu'il faisait, et il suppléait par de larges et vastes connaissances aux lacunes que le manque du temps pris par ses occupations militaires pouvait avoir laissé subsister dans sa préparation aux études. Depuis trente ans il ne travaillait pas personnellement, mais il dirigeait des publications du British Museum. Les jeunes Alle-

---

[1] See the *Compte Rendu des Séances de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, No. 6, 1895, already more than once quoted.

mands et Anglais feignent de ne pas le connaître; un Anglais me disait même qu'il n'avait jamais lu une ligne de Sir Henry Rawlinson. Je lui répondis—'I supposed just so, because, if you had read them, your papers would be less imperfect than they are.'

En vérité, Rawlinson fut moins un *scholar*, dans le sens anglais du mot, qu'un *découvreur* dans le genre de Botta et de Layard. Son concurrent, le rév. Edward Hincks, a pu être nommé l'Adams de Killyleagh, tandis qu'il était lui le Leverrier de Bagdad, l'un dans le 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' l'autre dans les 'Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.' Il est permis de dire qu'après Rawlinson il n'y avait plus qu'à glaner dans la traduction de la tablette perse de Béhistoun. Notre Eugène Burnouf, en Allemagne Christian Lassen, en Angleterre Edward Hincks, ont partagé avec lui l'honneur d'avoir étudié l'inscription assyrienne. Rawlinson n'a rien eu à faire avec l'inscription médique, la troisième des 'langues maîtresses' que, suivant l'expression heureuse d'un maître, il avait plu à Darius de parler à son empire sur le rocher de Béhistoun.[1]

Depuis nombre d'années Rawlinson publiait peu lui-même; néanmoins, avec la collaboration simultanée ou successive d'Edward (l. Edwin) Norris, George Smith, Théophile Pinches, il a donné les tablettes et les cylindres du Musée Britannique. Directeur de la Royal Asiatic Society, il aidait par son esprit large, son travail constant, son influence méritée, à développer les études auxquelles il avait voué sa vie. Il a été bien certainement le conseiller le plus sûr de son frère, le chanoine Georges Rawlinson, le célèbre historien des grandes monarchies de l'Orient.

---

[1] On this remark, see above, pp. 329, 330.

CHAPTER XXI

POSITION AND WORK AS A GEOGRAPHER—FIRST ESSAYS COMMUNICATED TO THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY BY VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, 1838–1840—THEIR VALUE TO ORDINARY GEOGRAPHY—THEIR INTEREST IN CONNECTION WITH THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHY—FURTHER WORK AS A COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHER, 1841–1857—APPLICATION OF HIS GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE TO PRACTICAL OBJECTS—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA—EARLY CONNECTION WITH THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—ELEVATION TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SAME—ADDRESSES—IMPORTANT MEMOIRS—TESTIMONY BORNE TO HIS MERITS AS A GEOGRAPHER BY SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM AND SIR FREDERIC GOLDSMID

SIR HENRY RAWLINSON'S work as a geographer began as far back as the year 1836. He had always been a careful observer of natural features during his previous wanderings, and had qualified himself for accurate scientific description by making himself familiar with the use of the necessary astronomical instruments; he was also a fair chartographer, and capable of illustrating his descriptions by maps and plans. But hitherto his travels had been in regions previously traversed, and sufficiently described, by Europeans; and hence he had felt no call to occupy himself in labours that would have lacked the charm of novelty. But in the year 1836 circumstances gave him the opportunity of breaking new ground, and visiting districts that had not only never been described, but had never even been trodden, by a European. With the spirit of enterprise that characterised him he at once rose to the occasion. On a march which commenced at Zohab, in Persian Kurdistan, and after passing through Khuzistan and a considerable part of the then almost wholly unexplored province of Luristan, he made such careful and extensive notes, that he was emboldened in the ensuing year (1837) to throw them into the form of a narrative, and to submit the narrative to the Royal Geographical Society for publication in their Journal, if thought deserving of it. The intermediary, who presented the paper to the Society, and recommended it to their notice, was no less a personage than Viscount Palmerston, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,[1] who was thus the first to introduce the subject of this Memoir into learned circles as an aspirant for literary honours. The paper thus backed was, of course, accepted, and was read before the Society at the two sittings of January 14 and January 28, 1838, after which it was published in the Society's Journal for the year 1839,[2] where it occupied ninety pages. Two years later, in 1840, the Society awarded Sir Henry Rawlinson its Gold Medal on account of this, his first, geographical paper.

The first geographical paper was soon followed by a second, and the second by a third. In the autumn of 1838 Sir Henry, then simply Major, Rawlinson had made an expedition from Tabriz through Persian Kurdistan to the ruins of Takht-i-Suleïman, and thence by Zanjan and Tarom to Ghilan on the Caspian.

---

[1] Introduced to Lord Palmerston in the year 1861, at the lodgings of Dr. Jeune, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, and then Vice-Chancellor, I reminded him of this, when he expressed himself as much pleased that it should have fallen to his lot to discharge so agreeable a duty.

[2] See the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for 1839, vol. ix. part i. pp. 26–116.

Although in this expedition he had traversed no absolutely virgin ground, yet he had noted so much which previous travellers had overlooked, and had come to such novel conclusions, that he felt justified in remitting to the Geographical Society at one and the same time two memoirs, and asking for them publication in their organ. One of these was, like his first paper, in the main, a description of his journey and of the countries which he had passed through; but the other was more ambitious, since it dealt with important points of comparative geography, and was an attempt to identify some obscure and rarely visited ruins in North-Western Persia with one of the most important of ancient sites. The Society, somewhat to his surprise, accepted both papers, and published them simultaneously in the year 1841 in the tenth volume of its Journal, where together they occupied 158 pages.[1]

The value of these papers to ordinary descriptive geography was not perhaps very remarkable. They filled up comparatively few gaps in that map of the world, which the Geographical Society is always endeavouring to complete and perfect. They were written in a plain, unattractive style, with little word-painting, and no 'purpurei panni.' Still, the great geographer, Ritter, found them of considerable service, and made copious use of them in the ninth volume of his 'Erdkunde,' and Mr. Greenough, President of the Royal Geographical Society in the year 1840, says of their author in respect of them:—

> The Founder's Medal has been awarded to Major Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, in testimony of the services he has rendered to geography by his researches in Susiana and Persian Kurdistan, and for the light

---

[1] See the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for 1840, vol. x. pp. 1–158.

thrown by him on the comparative geography of those regions. The papers which entitle him, in the judgment of the Council, to this public testimony of your gratitude and respect, and which have appeared in the ninth and tenth volumes of our Journal, are the result of the information which he was able to procure, either in his marches through that country, or in the course of his travels when not professionally employed. The area described comprehends the provinces of Kirmanshah, Luristan, and Khuzistan.

In those parts of his Memoirs which are most strictly geographical the author has traced, both with the pen and with the pencil, two important routes, which never before were inserted on any map or visited by any European. The one is the shortest and most direct line of communication between the towns of Bisitun (Behistun) and Dizful; the other runs from Nineveh to Ecbatana, and extends under the mountain ridge of Pusht-i-kuh to the river which is now called Sefid Rud, formerly the Amardus. The physical features of the country in the neighbourhood of these routes are clearly, and, no, doubt, accurately detailed.[1]

But the especial value of the Memoirs, as Mr. Greenough clearly saw at the time, was not so much in the additions which they made to the stock of ordinary, or positive, geography, as in the light which they threw on the far more difficult and complicated branch of the subject, which is known to students of the science under the designation of 'Comparative Geography.' Comparative Geography is one of the most important handmaids of history. It seeks to 'reconcile to the natural and necessary conclusions of modern experience the obscure, ambiguous, and often contradictory records of ancient writers,' historical and other, to identify ancient with modern sites, and so to give a life and reality to the old narratives, in which they would be otherwise lamentably deficient. Much critical acumen, much erudition, and much sagacity is needed for the successful pursuit of this branch of geographical science, on their distinction in which has mainly rested the reputation of several eminent geographers, as D'Anville, Rennell, Vincent, and Chesney. That Major Rawlinson, though as yet only twenty-eight years of age, possessed these qualities in a remarkable degree, may be concluded from the eulogium passed upon him by Mr. Greenough in concluding his notice of these early Memoirs :—

---

[1] *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. x. p. xlviii.

> In the person of this gallant officer (he says) we find united to the sterner qualifications of a geographer the accomplishments of the scholar, the antiquarian, and the man of taste. Familiar with all the accounts that had appeared either in ancient or modern times in regard to the region which he was about to explore, equally conversant with dead and with living languages, observation and erudition acted reciprocally on his mind, sometimes exciting, sometimes restraining the speed with which he pressed on to his conclusions. To form a just estimate of his merit we must look not only to the termination of his labours, but to the severe self-discipline he underwent lest he might not feel qualified to commence them.

Another most important testimony to the excellence of Sir Henry's work in these early Essays has been recently borne by the existing President of the Royal Geographical Society, who thus expressed himself in his address to the Society at the anniversary meeting of May 27, 1895 :—

> We find another pattern for writers of geographical memoirs in the memorable communications of the late Sir Henry Rawlinson on his journey through Persian

Kurdistan to the ruins of Takht-i-Suliman, and on the site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana. There may be only one Ecbatana site at Hamadan, or the illustrious geographer's theory may be correct as to the existence of another in Media Atropatene. My object in referring to these Memoirs is not to uphold either contention, but to point out that no one but a geographer, trained to lay down his routes with accuracy, and with an eye to take in and comprehend the physical aspects of the country he traverses, was capable of discussing the question as Sir Henry discussed it. He was only twenty-eight years of age at the time, and I mention this to show that the combination of learning with energetic exploration need not be an attribute of advanced years. Every young explorer may be a Rawlinson as soon as he is convinced that diligent acquisition of knowledge is as necessary for distinguished success as high courage and contempt of danger and of hardships. For, although young in years, Rawlinson was a ripe scholar when he left the camp at Tabreez in October 1838, and set out on his adventurous journey. When he had completed his examination of the ruins at Takht-i-Suliman, drawn careful plans, mastered the physical aspects of the surrounding country, and considered all the routes leading across it, he proceeded to the identification of the site by the light of his profound knowledge of Eastern history, and by a comparison of Persian manuscripts with Byzantine chronicles. But it must be remembered that this was done while still in Persia, not after returning to England, and coming within reach of great libraries. His critical method was a sure and safe one. He first verified the ruins of Takht-i-Suliman in Oriental geography, then identified the name given them by the early Arabs with one in Byzantine writings; next he traced up the fortunes of the place through the flourishing periods of the Roman Empire, and finally came to the dark period of the Median dynasty, when the name of Ecbatana first appears. He thus set out from a fixed base of direct and well-established proof, and built up a superstructure upon a sure foundation. As his argument gradually ascended along the chain of evidence into fields of more remote inquiry, criticism could, at any point, withhold assent to his opinions without endangering the stability of any part of the preceding argument, so that later critics might reject the theory of a northern Ecbatana apart from that at Hamadan; but such dissent in no way impugned the principal part of Rawlinson's argument, by which he proved the origin of the name of Takht-i-Suliman, its identity with the Shiz of Persian and Arab writers, and the identity of Shiz with the Byzantine Canzaca. I have explained the method adopted by our late President in applying his geographical researches and his historical learning to the elucidation of one of the great problems in Asiatic Comparative Geography, because it is identical with the method of D'Anville and with the method of Rennell. But his Memoirs convey to us a more important lesson. They prove to us that there is nothing to prevent a young explorer from making himself thoroughly acquainted with the previous history of any region he may select for the subject of his researches, before he commences his actual work in the field. If he only acquires such knowledge after his return, it will be a continual source of regret to him that he did not possess it when he was on the spot, when it would have guided him to fresh investigations of ever increasing interest. . . . Rawlinson had some advantages at the opening of his career which were denied to Rennell, yet his success was equally due to his own merits. Selected, early in life, as one of the officers who were designated to organise the troops of the Shah of Persia, he devoted every spare moment to the study of the history of the region whither his duty had taken him, perfecting himself in the language, collecting manuscripts, and mastering the works of Greek authors, as well as the more modern publications on the subject of his labours, as a necessary preparation, and as an indispensable qualification for geographical exploration. This is the explanation of the remarkable fact that so young an officer was able to send home papers to this Society which, as Mr. Vaux has truly remarked, have thrown more light on the geography of the part of Asia he described than any other work, ancient or modern. If Rennell is a model whose methods should be examined and imitated by all classes of geographers, our late President, Sir Henry Rawlinson, is assuredly the man whose example should be studied and followed, more especially by military men who become devotees of our science.[1]

The erudition displayed, especially in the 'Memoir on the Atropatenian Ecbatana,' is certainly extraordinary, and when considered as possessed by a youth of only twenty-eight years of age, and one who, since his seventeenth year, had been continuously engaged in active military employment, must be pronounced unprecedented. Not only are the ordinary classical geographers, Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Isidore of Charax, and Stephen of Byzantium familiar to him and quoted extensively, and the works of such little read writers as Hyde, Asseman, D'Herbelot, Moses of Chorene, Bar-Hebræus, Anquetil Duperron, Quatremère, De Guignes, St. Martin, Brisson, Gosselin, Malte Brun, laid under contribution, but the entire range of the Byzantine historians has evidently been ransacked, and Procopius, Theophanes, Cedrenus, Georgius Syncellus, Tzetzes, Theophylact of Simocatta, George of Pisidia, *et hoc genus omne*, have laid open their stores of information to the indefatigable student, whom neither a stilted style nor a corrupt form of Greek has daunted, and who has shrunk from no drudgery in his quest for information. Nor is this all. The author is as familiar with Arabic and Persian as with Greek and Latin—the stores of Oriental learning are open to him—and not only has he an intimate acquaintance with such well-known writers as Yakut, Mas'udi, Tabari, Firdausi, Idrisi, Abulfeda, but he has at his fingers' ends the writings of a score of other Easterns, names unfamiliar to European ears, such as Zakariyah, Kazvini, Hamdullah, Nizami, Jeihani, Ibn Jansi, Hamzah Isfahani, Ibn Athir, Ibn Juzi, Mosa'er, &c. Nay, more, he possesses, and makes use of, Persian and Arabic MSS. that have never been published, yet which are of great value, as the Noz-hatu-l-Kolub, the Ferhengi-Reshidi, and the Athalo-l-Beldan. It was this wealth of Arabic and Persian illustration, which gave to the paper on the Atropatenian Ecbatana its distinctive character, and caused the learned Society of Geographers to feel that a new man of eminence, a geographer in the highest sense of the word, was risen among them.

---

[1] Sir Clements R. Markham in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for July 1895, pp. 9–11.

Nor can it be denied that this remarkable early promise had an ample fulfilment in the future. The papers published in the ninth and tenth volumes of the 'Geographical Journal' were followed up by a long series of most valuable communications to the same periodical, as well as to the 'Transactions' and the 'Athenæum,' extending over a numbr of years and embracing a vast variety of subjects, which will compare favourably with the contributions to geography of any other writer of our time, and are distinguished by the same or even a wider range of erudition than the early papers, and a similar combination of extensive knowledge with rare critical acumen.

Among these communications may be especially mentioned a paper on the 'Comparative Geography of Affghanistan,' written at Candahar in 1841, and published in the 'Geographical Journal' of 1842 (vol. xii. pp. 112–114); another on the 'Identification of the Biblical Cities of Assyria, and on the Geography of the Lower Tigris,' read before the Geographical Society on April 4, 1851; a third, entitled 'Observations on the Geography of Southern Persia,' published in the Geographical Society's 'Proceedings' for 1857 (pp. 280–299); and a fourth on 'Biblical Geography,' published in the 'Athenæum' of April 12 and April 19, 1862. Even more elaborate and of still greater value are the 'Monograph on the Oxus,' read before the British Association in 1870, and published in the 'Geographical Journal' for 1872 (vol. xlii., pp. 482–513), and the 'Notes on Seistan,' read before the Geographical Society in 1873, and published in the 'Journal' of the ensuing year (vol. xliii., pp. 272–294). These studies were, on account of the special interest felt to attach to them, published also in a separate form, and obtained a considerable circulation.

One of the special features of Sir Henry's efforts as a geographer was his readiness to apply his geographical knowledge to practical objects. Lord Strangford, speaking at a meeting of the Geographical Society in 1867, 'held up as highly worthy of imitation the combination of scientific life with practical life which had been made by Sir Henry Rawlinson while engaged in the public service in the heart of Central Asia. Such a combination,' he said, 'was *quite unique.*' It was certainly a combination very characteristic of Sir Henry Rawlinson as a geographer. Whenever geographical problems touched practical life, he was ready to produce from the stores of his geographical treasury such an amount of practical information as fairly surprised his contemporaries. Whether it was a question of the best route for an overland telegraph from Constantinople to Kurrachi,[1] or of military operations in the region about the mouths of the Euphrates,[2] or again of trade routes between Turkistan and India,[3] or of debatable frontiers in Seistan,[4] or along the Oxus,[5] Sir Henry was always ready with a paper, which, if not exhaustive of the subject, at any rate threw upon it an amount of light that would have been with difficulty procurable from any other quarter.

About the year 1875 Sir Henry's reputation as a geographer induced the editors of the new edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (Messrs. Black and Co., of Edinburgh) to apply to him for assistance in the geographical portion of the great work which they had in hand, and to intrust to him in the first instance the preparation of an article upon Baghdad, the great city of the Caliphs, where he had himself resided so many years. This notice, which extended to four large quarto pages, was followed by shorter ones on

---

[1] See the *Report of the British Association* for 1861, pp. 197, 198; and compare the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* for the same year, pp. 219–221; the *Athenæum* for March 2, 1861, and the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. vii. pp. 137–168.

[2] Compare the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* for 1857, pp. 280–299, 351–363, with the *Athenæum* for February 14, 1857, p. 216, and May 16, 1857, pp. 630, 631. See also the 'Notes on the Ancient Geography of Mohamrah and the Vicinity,' in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for 1857, pp. 185–190.

[3] See *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* for 1869, pp. 10–23.

[4] 'Notes on Seistan,' read before the Royal Geographical Society on January 27, 1873, and published in a separate form in 1874.

[5] See 'Monograph on the Oxus,' first read before the British Association at Liverpool in 1870, and published in a separate form in 1872.

Bushire, Bussorah, Herat, and Ispahan, and also by two others of about equal length with that on Baghdad, treating respectively of the Euphrates and of Kurdistan. These articles, contributed between the years 1875 and 1882, were at length found to occupy more time than could readily be spared from more important tasks, and were discontinued after the last-mentioned year, although the writer outlived the completion of the entire edition.

Sir Henry's connection with the Royal Geographical Society, which began, as we have seen, so early as 1838, was brought to a close, on the other hand, only very shortly before his death. It extended over a space of more than fifty years. His first paper was read at the Society's rooms in January 1838; he was elected a Fellow in 1844; he became a Vice-President not long after (1864); he acted as President during the last illness of Sir Roderick Murchison in 1870; and he was formally elected as actual President in 1871. In 1873 he resigned this office as too laborious; but in 1874, a year later, he consented to re-assume it on the resignation of Sir Bartle Frere, and again held it for a biennium, from 1874 to 1876. It was not till 1893 that, on account of the failure of his health, he severed his connection with the Society altogether. A graceful tribute was paid to his memory shortly after his death by one of the most distinguished of his recent colleagues, Sir Frederic J. Goldsmid, who thus wrote in the Society's Journal:—

> Any attempt in these pages to render an account of Sir Henry Rawlinson's services to geography, by presenting a mere *résumé* of his relations with the Society of which this 'Journal' is the organ, were indeed trouble in vain. No statement of the kind could be

complete without an exposition of the value of his work, and the accomplishment of such a task would involve a political retrospect as well as a combination of geographical details, each of which would supply material for a goodly sized volume. But although the unadorned record may be insufficient to satisfy the requirements of critics and connoisseurs, it may possess its usefulness as an obituary notice, in which sense it is now put forward. At the period of his decease, Rawlinson's name had been borne on the list of Fellows for more than half a century, for he had been elected in 1844, and five years before his election he had received the Founder's Medal for 'great services to geography' rendered in Persia. These were exemplified in the circumstance that from 1833 to 1839 he had 'explored with great zeal, perseverance, and industry, the provinces of Luristan, Khuzistan, and Azerbaijan, and the mountain ranges which divide the basin of the Tigris from the elevated plains of Central Persia.' The historical and archæological research displayed on this occasion by a young officer of the Indian army, otherwise conspicuous for professional ability, were so remarkable, that his qualifications as an explorer were at once generally recognised. . . . Among the more recent papers which he contributed to the Society's 'Journal' or 'Proceedings,' may be mentioned the monograph on the Oxus and the exhaustive notes on Seistan, as indicative of his unfailing acquaintance with places of which he had made a careful study, but had had no personal experience on the spot. But his treatment of the many questions which arose during his occupation of the President's chair showed that he could give his mind to the world's regions generally, irrespective of Persia and Central Asia, and he proved himself a good all-round bearer of office. . . . But Sir Henry's *strong* point was Central Asia; and herein we may quote that able critic Lord Strangford, [who says] referring to a former *séance* of the Society:—

'The extreme and indeed unique value of every word which falls from Sir Henry upon any subject connected with Central and Western Asiatic research is, perhaps, less appreciated here than it is on the continent and in Russia, or than it will be by our children; but what we wish here chiefly to lay stress upon is the direct practice, tendency, and bearing with which he applies his enormous, acquired, and theoretical lore each time that he addresses the popular meetings of the Society.' . . .

It has been truly said that, in this exceptionally distinguished officer, there passed away the most commanding, and certainly the best known, figure among English Orientalists. May we not add that his fine presence and practical usefulness will be equally missed among statesmen and geographers?[1]

---

[1] See the *Geographical Journal* for May 1895, pp. 495–97.

INDEX

Abdallah, Sultan, tomb of, 153
Abdul Medjid, Sultan of Turkey, 211, 212
Abdur Rahman Khan (Amir of Affghanistan), xxi, 272, 282, 283, 287-289
Abyssinian expedition, 1867, 247–256
Achæmenian kings, the palace of the, 174
Affghan War of 1839–1842, xv, xvi, 71–134, 251, 253; of 1878–9, 264, 272, 276–279
Affghanistan, Sir Henry Rawlinson and Russia's Central Asian policy, xv, xxi, 257-259, 271, 272, 286, 287
Ahmedabad, 25, 26
Ak Tepeh, 287
Akbar Khan, 114, 117, 133
Akhaltzik, 215
Akrum Khan, 81, 82
Aktur Khan, Affghan chief, 79, 81, 122
Albert, Prince Consort, and Sir Henry Rawlinson, 162
Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, presentation of terra-cotta relic to, 166, 167
Alcock, Sir Rutherford, 266
Ali Musjid, 276
Ali Shah (son of Shah Futteh Ali), 44, 55
Alikhanoff, Colonel, 287
Alison, Mr., succeeds Sir Henry Rawlinson at Teheran, 230, 231, 232, 234, 237
Anaïtis, worship of, 174
Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission, 264, 285, 286, 288, 289
'Annual Register,' quoted, 204
Antiquaries, Society of, 164
Antonetti, Signor, 173
Ararat, Mount, 47
Asiatic Society of Paris, 310, 312, 313
'Archæologia,' 156, 164
Arghandab, 93, 94, 124, 125
Argyll, Duke of, 244, 264
Artaxerxes Ochus, his palace at Susa, 174
Asshur-bani-pal, 175
Assyria and Assyrian discoveries and excavations, xvii, 154, 163, 165, 166, 172, 175, 176, 178, 181 183, 186, 188, 189, 242, 261, 328, 329
Assyrian Excavation Society, 184, 185–188
'Athenæum,' the, 165, 241, 242, 261, 329 *n.*-331, 342–344
Athens, 210, 211
Atta Mohammed, 88, 91, 94, 114, 115, 116, 117, 124
Attock, 134
Auckland, Lord, 69, 72, 73, 259
Ayrton, Acton Smee and Frederick, 12
Azerbijan, 46, 47

Baba-Wulee Pass, 122, 123, 124
Babel, the Tower of. *See* Birs-i-Nimrud
Babylon and Babylonian inscriptions and excavations, xvii, xviii, 23, 145, 150, 151, 153-157, 162, 163, 165, 166, 171–173, 178, 179, 186, 188, 195, 261, 325-329
Baghdad, xv, xvii, xviii, 60, 138, 140, 143, 147, 148, 150, 158, 159, 168, 169, 171–173, 196–199
Bahram Mirza, Governor of Kurdistan, 56, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 66
Bakir Khan, the robber-chief, 37-39
Bariatinski, Prince, 216–219
Barukzyes, the (Affghan tribe), 74, 87, 88, 99-100, 101, 102, 103, 121

Bayazid, 47
Beaconsfield, Earl of, 205, 244, 280, 282, 290
Beau Brummell, 297
Behistun monument, the 'Rosetta Stone' of cuneiform discovery, xviii, 58, 59, 65, 66, 143–148, 153–157, 159, 171, 309, 310, 313, 320, 322, 326–329, 333
Belus, Great Temple of, 188
Bentinck, Lord William, Governor-General of India, 35
Bethune, Sir Henry, 65
Bilingual readings, cuneiform and Phœnician, 242
Birs-i-Nimrud ('Tower of Babel'), 173, 188–195
Blackheath, Dr. Myers's educational establishment at, 19
'Black Obelisk,' 154
Bokhara occupied by Russia, 258
Bombay, Sir Henry Rawlinson's voyage to, 21–24
Bosanquet, 242
Bostan Khan, 90
Botta, M., 177
Boutcher, Mr., 186, 187
Briggs, Mr., Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, 311, 314
British Association, 343, 344
British Museum, 165, 166, 172, 174, 176, 177, 183–188, 240, 241, 243, 261, 290, 295, 300, 301, 332
Bouverie, Mr. Philip Pleydell, 243
Broadfoot, Lieutenant, 84
Browne, General, a commander in Second Affghan War, 276
Brussels Conference on African exploration, 1876, 273
Bulwer, Sir Henry, 211, 212, 234, 235
Burnes, Sir Alexander and Charles, 84
Burnouf, M. Eugène, 56, 311, 312, 314, 318, 321, 329, 333
Burrows, Sir George (physician), 11
Burrows, General, defeat of, 279
Bushire, 36, 37
Bussorah, 140

Cabul, during the Affghan War, 1839–1842, xv, 72, 84–87, 95–97, 99–103, 108, 110, 112–121, 125–127, 129–134, 137; murder of Sir P. L. Cavagnari at, 278; occupied by British troops, 279
Cady, Mr., 216
'Calcutta Review,' 257
Cameron, Colonel, 168
Campbell, Sir Alexander and Lady, 22
Campbell, Sir John, 40
Candahar during the Affghan War, 1839–1842, xvi, 72–129, 137, 251; trouble respecting loss of accounts, 135, 136; occupied by British troops in 1879, 276; reoccupied, 279; after the war, 280–283
Canning, Sir Stratford, 140, 151, 152, 160, 186, 196–198, 244
Caradoc, the, 210
Cavagnari, Sir P. L., his murder, 278
Chadlington (birthplace of Sir Henry Rawlinson), 1, 4–7, 9, 20
Chaldæa, xviii, 173, 261
Chambers, Colonel, 81
Charles II. and Robert Rawlinson, 2
Chesney, 338
China war, 250, 255
Christie, Captain, 122, 129, 130
Chuplanee, 90
Churchill, Lord Randolph, 264
Clare, Lord, Governor of Bombay, xiv, 35
Clarendon, Lord, 201
Clifton Zoological Gardens, 149
Clio, the, 140
Clyde, the, 36
Collier, Sir Robert, 244
Connaught, Duke of, 269
Conolly, Colonel, 73, 253
Conservative *v.* Liberal Policy in Affghanistan, 282, 283
Constantinople, 211
Coombs, Lieutenant, 83
Cordier, M. Henri, 329
Cork, Lord, 244, 246
Cottle, Amos, 9
Cotton, Sir Willoughby, 72
Cowley, Lord and Lady, 209
Cranbrook, Viscount, 264
Creswicke, the Misses, 4, 8, 9
Crimean War, the, 196–199
Cumberbatch, Captain, 21
Cuneiform inscriptions and discoveries, Sir Henry Rawlinson's interest in, xvi–xviii, 38, 56–58, 143, 144; his First (Persian)

Memoir, 144–148, 150, 151, 163; his Second (Babylonian) Memoir, 150, 151, 153, 154, 159, 171, 324–329; the cuneiform of Western Asia, 240–242; four volumes published in 1870–1884, 261; Sir Henry Rawlinson as a discoverer, 307–318; his mode of alphabetical identification, 318–320; translation of the Persian inscriptions, 321–324; the Median (or Scythic), 329–331

D'Anville, 338, 340
Darius Hystaspis inscription, xvii, 65, 143, 157, 174, 309, 310, 318–320, 329
Davis, Mr., 9
Dehli, 91, 93
Delamain, Captain, 129
Delane, Mr., 244
Deluge, the, 301
Derby, Earl of, his Ministry, 207, 208. *See also* Stanley, Lord
Devonshire, the Duke of, 244
Dilligan Pass, 220
D'Israeli, Mr. *See* Beaconsfield, Earl of
Dittel, M., 144
Diyalah, 147
Dizful, 61
Dolma Baghche Palace, 211
Dooranis, the (Affghan tribe), 74, 76, 78, 79, 81, 82, 87, 88, 94, 95, 97, 100, 101, 103, 109, 112, 122, 125, 126, 128
Dost Mohammed, Amir of Affghanistan, 68 *n.*, 72, 75, 76, 78, 259
Dover, reception of the Shah at, 267–269
Dufferin, Lord, 244
Dunlop, Mr., M.P. for Greenock, 203
Durand, Colonel, 138

Ealing School as an educational establishment, 11
East India Company, xviii, 18, 167, 171, 200, 202
Ecbatana. *See* Hamadan
Edinburgh degree, 290
Edinburgh, Duke of, 269
Egyptian cartouche at Susa, 174
Ellenborough, Lord (Governor-General of India), xvi, 118, 119, 120, 126, 127, 131, 132, 138-140
Elliot, Mr. C. Boileau, 312
Ellis, Sir Henry (Principal Librarian to the British Museum), 174–178, 181–187
Elphinstone, Lord, Governor of Bombay, 199
Elphinstone, Major-General, commanding in Affghanistan, 85, 87, 98, 99, 100
Elwand, Mount, 56
'Encyclopædia Britannica,' 261, 344, 345
England, General, his share in first Affghan War, 110, 111, 113, 128, 135
Erwan, 220, 221
Esarhaddon, 175
Evenlode, the river, 4, 5, 6
Eymack tribes, 281

Farrant, Colonel, 36, 168
Fatima, the shrine of, 39
Ferrukh Khan (Persian Foreign Minister), 228, 229, 231, 232
Ferozepoor, 134
Finot, Baron, French Consul-General, 219
Fitz-James, Captain, 36, 140
Fowler, Sir Henry, 264
France, its Ninevite and Babylonian Commissions, 178–180, 188
Frere, Sir Bartle, 265; President of the Royal Society, 345
Fresnel, M., 178
Frome, representation of, 244
Froude, J. A., 244
Furness Abbey, the abbots of, 1
Futteh Ali, Shah of Persia, his reception of the British detachment, 40–44; his heir appointed, 45, 46; death, 47, 48; Russian present to, 51

'Garden of the Gulistan,' 41
Geography, Sir Henry Rawlinson's contributions to, 334
Ghazees, the (Moslem fanatics), 88 *n.*, 107, 108, 109, 114, 117, 122, 123, 125
Ghilzyes, the (Affghan tribes), 75, 76, 79, 81, 88, 91, 94, 95, 121
Ghoni, battle of, 137
Ghuzni during the great Affghan War, 1839–1842, 72, 109, 117, 118, 121, 126, 127, 129, 130, 137, 279

Gladstone, Mr., 244, 247
Gokcha Lake, 220
Goldsmid, Sir Frederic J., 345–347
Gooroo, the, 91
Gori, 215, 216
Grant Duff, Sir M. E., 284
Granville, Earl, 269
Greek inscriptions at Susa, 174
Greenough, Mr., President of the Royal Geographical Society, 336, 337, 338
Griffin, Captain, 81
Griffin, Mr. Lepel, 282, 283
Grotofend, Professor, cuneiform discoverer, 310, 311, 312, 321
Gundamok, Treaty of, 277, 278

Hackblock, Mr. William, 203
Hakimu-'l-Mamalik, 269
Halévy, M. J., 329
Hall, Rev. Robert, 9
Hamadan (Ecbatana), its cuneiform inscriptions, 56, 57, 155, 309, 314, 318, 339 340
Hartington, Marquis of (now Duke of Devonshire), 264
Haupt, Mr. Paul, 241
Heath, Mrs., 62
Herat, xv, xxi, 65–69, 71, 75, 121, 226, 275, 280, 281, 283, 285
Herkomer, Mr., 244
Hester, Mr., 144
Hibbert, Hon. A., 296
Hillah, 180 *n.*
Hincks, Dr. Edward, 181, 242, 329, 332, 333
Hodder, Mr., 173
Hogg, Sir James, 299, 300
Holcombe, Lieutenant, 83
Hook, Theodore, 297
Houghton, Lord, 244
Howard, Frank, 11
Hussein Ali Khan Gervooss, 209
Hykulzye, 111, 113
Hyslop, Dr., 190
Hystaspes, 309, 310, 317, 320, 329

India, Sir Henry Rawlinson in, xx, xxii, 21–36, 70; and the Great Affghan War, 71; debate in the House of Commons on, 203, 204; cause of the Sepoy outbreak in, 253; Bill for the better government of, 257; effect of Russia's Central Asian Policy on, 257–260
India Council, xix, 205–207, 260–264, 284, 290, 295, 302
Ionia, proposed annexation to Greece, 211

Jackson, Dr. Cyril, 3
Jackson, Lieut., 135
Janbaz, the (Affghan tribe), 84, 87 89, 90, 91, 94
Jehungeer Mirza, Prince of Affghanistan, 43
Jellalabad, 75, 118, 126, 127, 133, 276, 279
Jerrold, Douglas, 299
Jesireh, 150
Jeune, Dr., 335
Jones, Captain, R.N., 144
Jones, Sir William, 312
'Journal de Constantinople,' 221
Jugdulluk, 134

Kaleeshuh, battle of, 137
Kalundar Khan, 90
Kauffmann, General, 274
Kazakh, 220
Kaye's 'Life of Sir John Malcolm,' quoted, 23, 24, 73, 74, 77, 94–96, 103, 109, 111, 112, 114, 122, 127, 131
Keane, Sir John, 72
Kemball, Mr., Vice-Consul at Baghdad, 159
Kemball, Sir A., 267
Kensenstern, Mr., 216
Kenyon, Lord, 297, 298
Kerkhah River, 175
Khankurs, the, Affghan tribe, 76
Khannitoff, General, 219, 220
Khelat, 76
Khelat-i-Ghilzye, 79, 86, 98, 110, 118–121, 276
Khojuck Pass, 111, 113, 122
Khulberg, Colonel, 288
Khushki-Nakhud, 279
Khusistan, 61
Kila Azeem Khan, 129
Kileh Sherghat, 173, 179, 180, 190
Killa-chuk, 93
Killah Abdoolah, 120
Kimberley, Earl of, 264, 285
Kipling, Rudyard, 303
Kirmanshah, xv, 56–59, 60, 64, 65, 147
Kirmanshah tribes, 158
Kizzelbashis, the, 76, 87
Klaproth, 310

Kohistanis, the, 76
Kohundil, 121
Komaroff, General, 287
Koran, the, 304
Kotaïs, 214, 215
Kotul-i-Moonha, 124, 125
Koyunjik, 176, 178, 181, 182, 185, 186, 188
Kulubiakine, General, 220
Kum, shrine of Fatima at, 39
Kur, the, 216, 220
Kurdistan, 55-66

Lakitsa, siege and conquest of, 176
Lassen, Professor, 56, 315, 316, 318, 321, 333
Lawrence, Sir John, his Indian policy, 259
Layard, Henry Austin, his researches in Nineveh and contact with Sir Henry Rawlinson, 151, 153, 159, 172, 176, 177, 181, 183, 256, 329, 333
Le Brun, 144
Leacroft, Rev. Mr., 190
Leech, Major, 73, 77, 85, 98
Leeson, Captain, 90, 93
Leighton, Sir F., 244
Lenormant, M. François, 329
Leopold, King of the Belgians, summons conference on African exploration, 273
Lessar, M., 286
Lessen, Christian, 329
Lindow, Henry Lindow, uncle of Sir Henry Rawlinson, 296
'Literary Gazette,' 165, 261
Livingstone, Dr., 298, 299
Loftus, Mr. W. K., 173, 174, 176, 184, 185-188, 196, 329
Longfellow, his poem: 'The Day is done,' 305-306
Lowther, Mrs., 233
Lughman, 117
Lumsden, Sir Peter, 286, 287
Lynch, Major, 73, 79
Lytton, Earl, Viceroy of India, his policy in India, 272-279
Lyveden, Lord. *See* Smith, the Right Hon. R. Vernon

Mabille, school fight with, 16
Macdonald, Lord, 11
Mac arren, Mr., 17
Macgregor, 83
Maclaren, Colonel, 86
Macnaghten, Sir William, xvi, 73, 74, 76, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85
McNeill, Sir John, 40, 44, 66, 67, 69, 73 *n.*
Magdala, 248, 250, 252
Mahmoud, Sultan, of Ghuzni, his tomb, 132
Mahra Khan, 122
Malcolm, Sir John, Governor of Bombay, xiii, xiv, 22-24
Malta, 210
Manucheher Khan, Governor of Kurdistan, 66
Markham, Sir Clements R., President of the Royal Geographical Society, 338-341
Mazar-i-Sharif, 277
Median Cuneiform writing, 144, 145, 325, 329-331
Meer Alim Khan, 91
Mehemet Khan Envir Toman, 222
Melikoff, Prince, 217
Meliti, 215
Melvill, James C., 200
Meran, 214
Merodach, Temple of, 173
Merv, Russia and, xxi, 275, 285, 287
Mesopotamia, researches in, xvii, xviii, 184, 185, 196, 240, 300, 301
Millais, 244
Milman, Dean, 244
Mirza Ahmed, 96, 97, 100, 105, 106, 108, 114-117
Mohammed Mirza, Prince (afterwards Shah of Persia), 45, 46, 48, 49, 65-69, 71; death, 158
Mohammed Wali Khan, Governor of Zohab district, 59, 60
Mohl, Dr. Julius, 311, 314
Molesworth, Lord, 298
Money, William Taylor, 18
Monk, Miss Elizabeth, 2
Mookoor, 129
Moolah Khuja, 125
More, Mrs. Hannah, 9
Mosul, its ruins, 159, 173, 186
Mugheir, 190
Müller, Professor Max, 164, 165
Murchison, Sir Roderick, 264, 265, 345
Murghab, 287, 312
Murray, Sir Charles, 206, 207
Murray, Mr. John, 163
Mushir ed Dowleh, 231
Mustafa et Mamalik, 228
Myers, Dr., 19

Nakhsh-i-Rustam inscription, xvii, 143, 144, 328
Nâsr ed-Din, Shah of Persia, xix, 209, 222–230, 234; visits to England, 266–270
Napier of Magdala, Lord, 256
Nebuchadnezzar, cylinder of, 191–195
Nepaul Residency, 139, 140
Neptune, the, 21
Newab Jubbar Khan, 98
Newman, Cardinal, and Professor F. W. Newman, 11, 12
Nicholas, Rev. Dr., and his sons Francis and George, 11, 13, 14, 18
Nicholls, Sir Jasper, 118, 119
Nicolson, Captain, 117
Niebuhr, his Persepolitan inscriptions, 143, 144, 321
Niffer, antique from, 166
Nimrud, archæological discoveries at, 154, 173, 176, 178, 182, 186, 188
'Nineteenth Century,' 261, 277, 280, 281
Nineveh, archæological researches in, 153, 166, 175–179, 186, 187
Nitocris, the, 140, 153
Normanton, Lord, 16
Norris, Mr. Edward, 240, 241, 330, 333
Northbrook, Lord, 271
Northcote, Sir Stafford (afterwards Lord Iddesleigh), 259, 264
Nott, General, his share in the Affghan War, and association with Sir Henry Rawlinson, xvi, 77, 82, 85–87, 90, 92–95, 99, 104, 105, 107, 112–114, 118–122, 125–133, 135, 137, 138, 251, 277
Nottray, Lieutenant, 83

Oliphant, Lawrence, 209
Ooloos, the, 92
Oppert, Dr. Jules, 179 *n.*, 180 *n.*, 181, 242, 324, 329, 332, 333
Ouseley, Sir Gore, 315, 316
Outram, Sir J., 110, 120, 130
'Oversands,' 1
Oxford University, 164
Oxus, 344, 346

Pai Kuli inscription, 147
Palmer, 85
Palmerston, Viscount, 203–205, 236, 244, 247, 335
Parsewan Horse, 122, 123
Pasmore, Colonel, 37, 42, 50, 51, 168
Paton, Captain, 85
Pelly, Mr. John Hinde, 18
Pelly, Captain (afterwards Sir Lewis), 232, 233
Pendjeh incident, the, 264, 286–288
Peroffski, General, 73
Persepolis, cuneiform inscriptions at, 38, 144, 174
Persia, Sir Henry Rawlinson in, xiv–xx, 24, 35–70, 139–160, 163, 165, 171–199, 207–238, 301, 309, 325, 330, 331; her designs on Herat and Candahar, 121, 280, 281; strained relations with Turkey, 196; her relations with England and Russia, 229; Russia's intentions regarding, 257
Persian Kurdistan, Sir Henry Rawlinson's explorations in, 335, 336, 344
Phipps, Mr. C. B., letter to Major Rawlinson, 166, 167
Peiwar Kotal, 276
Pinches, Theophilus, 329, 333
Place, M., 178, 179
Pocock, Dr., 8
Pollock, General, his share in the great Affghan war, 114, 118, 119, 133, 137, 138, 277
Poonah, Sir Henry Rawlinson's ride from, to Panwell, 26–34
Porter, 144
Poti, 213
Pottinger, Major, 75, 98, 99, 130
Powell, Mr., 35

'Quarterly Review,' 258
Quetta, 76, 111–113, 119–120, 122, 126, 135, 281

Rassam, Mr. Hormazd, 173, 176, 177, 179, 186, 187
Rawlinson, Abram Tyzack (father), 1, 3–8
Rawlinson, Alexander (abbot), 1 *n.*
Rawlinson, Alfred, 291–293
Rawlinson, Curwen, 2
Rawlinson, Henry, 2
Rawlinson, Henry (grandfather), 3
Rawlinson, Henry Creswicke (afterwards Sir Henry), summary of his official life by Lord Roberts, xiii–xxii; his ancestors, 1–8; birth, 1, 8; his sisters and brother, 8; early education, 8–10;

later education: school life at Ealing, 11-18; nominated for a cadetship under the East India Company, 18; studies at Blackheath, 19, 20; visits Cheltenham races and sails for Bombay in the *Neptune*, 21; Sir John Malcolm and, 22-24; study of Oriental literature, 23-25; life as a subaltern at Bombay and other places, 24-27; selected for service in Persia, 24, 35, 36; his ride from Poonah to Panwell, 27-34; encounter with Bakir Khan, 37 *n.*–39 *n.*; visits the shrine of Fatima at Kum, 39; his account of Shah Futteh Ali's reception of the British detachment, 40-44; and investiture of Prince Mohammed, 45, 46; attempt on Mount Ararat, 47; on the characteristics of Mohammed Shah, 48, 49; duties in Persia in 1835, 50; granted an audience by the Shah, 51; present at the Coronation, 52–55; official duties, travels, and study of cuneiform inscriptions in Kurdistan, 55–66; rides after and intercepts the Shah *en route* for Herat, 66–68; encounter with Captain Vickovich, 67 *n.*, 68 *n.*; study of cuneiform, ancient Persian, and comparative geography at Teheran and Baghdad, 68–70; interest in cuneiform investigation in 1839, 72; appointed political agent at Candahar (1840), 72, 73, 76; his association with General Nott in Affghanistan, 77; difficulties in collecting revenue at Candahar, 77–79; correspondence on the unsettled state of the Affghan tribes, 79-85; his action at Candahar after the Cabul disaster, 86, 87; plot to murder him by the Ghazees, 88 *n.*, 89 *n.*; plan to disperse the disaffected Janbaz, 89; correspondence with General Nott recommending an attack on Prince Sufder Jung, 91, 92; precautions for the protection and defence of Candahar, 93–95; on the policy of Mirza Ahmed, 96–97; action and despatch regarding the order to quit Candahar, 98–103; his activity among the tribes, 103; clears Candahar of its disaffected population, 104; his description of General Nott's attack on hostile tribes, and their efforts to capture the city, 105, 107; his negotiations with rebellious tribes and concern regarding the relief of Candahar, 109, 110, 112; his replies to General Nott's proposals respecting the capture of Mirza Ahmed and Mohammed Atta, 115-117; views on Lord Ellenborough's letter ordering the evacuation of the city, 119–121; his account of General Nott's attack on the Doorani, 122-125; his friendly relations with Nott, and account of the evacuation of Candahar, 127, 128 *n.*; accompanies Nott's brigade to Cabul, 128, 130; examines inscription on Sultan Mahmoud's tomb, 132; visits General Pollock's army at Cabul, 133; termination of his Affghan services, 133, 134; trouble respecting Candahar accounts, 135, 136; suffers from brain fever, 136; slighted by the Authorities, 136; General Nott's testimonial, 137; made a C.B., 138; acquaintance with Lord Ellenborough, 139; appointed political agent in Turkish Arabia, 139, 140; reception at Baghdad and official duties, 140-143; resumption of cuneiform studies, 143-148, 150, 151, 153; as a tamer of wild animals, 148-150; contact with Layard, 151-154, 159; final visit to Behistun, 155–157; study of Hebrew and Arabic, 157, 158; life at Baghdad in 1849, 158; return to England, 158-160; his Second Cuneiform Memoir, 159, 171; reception in England, 161; as a chess player, 161, 162; work in London: lectures before learned societies and contributions to periodicals during 1849-1851, 162-165; the British Museum Trustees and hi gift to the Prince of Wales, 165–167; letter to East India Company, 167-169; a Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonelcy conferred, 169;

other honours, 169–171; return to Baghdad, 171–172; in charge of Assyrian and other excavations, 172–195; political anxieties: letter from Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, 195–199; accident to Sir Henry and return to England, 199; retires from East India Company's service, 200, 201; a K.C.B., 201, 202; nominated a Crown Director of the East India Company, 202, 203; M.P. for Reigate, 203; speech on Lord Palmerston's India Bill, 204; becomes member of the India Council, 205, 206; appointed envoy to Persia, 206–208; starts for Teheran: visits *en route*, 208–221; reception there, 221, 222; disquieting political intelligence, 222–224; resolves to resign, 224–226; reasons for so doing, 227, 228; effect at Persian Court, 228, 229; despatch relating final interviews with the Shah, 230–232; taking leave of the Embassy, 232, 233; his resignation explained by Lord John Russell, 233–237; return to England, 239; resumption of cuneiform studies and work at the British Museum, 240–242; marriage, 243; contact with distinguished men, 244; elected for Frome, 246; interest in Indian affairs, 247; speech on the Abyssinian question and its result, 247–256; action on Bill for amending Government of India Act, 257; interest in the Central Asian question, 257, 258; Lord Roberts on the effect of Sir Henry's Memorandum on the subject, 258–260; close of his Parliamentary career and reappointment to India Council, 260–261; his literary labours, 261; work as member of the India Council, 262–264; Secretaries for India under whom he served, 264; connection with Royal Geographical Society, 264–266; attends on Shah of Persia during his visit to England, 266–270; publishes his 'England and Russia in the East,' 270–272; attends Brussels Conference, 273; interviews and correspondence with Lord Lytton on England's Eastern policy, 273–276; defends his lordship's action, 277; views on the general Affghan question, 280–281; contrasts Liberal and Conservative policies, 282, 283; elected as Chairman of Political Committee of India Council, 284, 285; his share in Affghan Boundary understanding, 288; honorary degree of LL.D. Edinburgh conferred, 290; work at the British Museum and on the India Council, 290; death of Lady Rawlinson, 291; his sons' careers, 291–293; his illness and death, 293, 294; appreciation of, by his son: personal characteristics and occupations, 295, 296; sporting instincts, 296; as a *raconteur*, 297–300; his library, 300; cuneiform note-books, and love of novel-reading, 300, 301; health during closing years, 301, 302; guiding principles of action, 302, 303; not dogmatic in religious matters, 303, 304; his favourite poem, 305, 306; as cuneiform discoverer, 307–322; M. Oppert's testimony, 332, 333; position and work as a geographer, 334, 335; his papers on the subject, 335–343; founders' medal of Royal Geographical Society awarded, 336; extent of his erudition, 341, 342; unique characteristics as a geographer, 343, 344; contributions to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' 344, 345; connection with the Royal Geographical Society and value of his work, 345–347

Rawlinson, Henry Lindow (uncle), 3

Rawlinson, Henry Seymour (now Sir Henry), 291–293; his estimate of his father, 295–306

Rawlinson, Richard, 3

Rawlinson, Robert (royalist), 2

Rawlinson, Thomas (abbot), 1 *n.*

Rawlinson, Thomas (Lord Mayor of London), 3

Rawlinson, Walter, 2

Rawlinson, Sir William, 2

Redcliffe, Lord Stratford de. *See* Canning, Sir Stratford
Reeve, Henry, 244
Reigate, representation of, 203, 209
Rennell, 338, 340
Rich, 144
Ridgeway, Sir J. West, 288
Ripon, Marquis of, Viceroy of India, 279, 285
Ritter, 336
Roberts, Field Marshall Lord, on Sir Henry Rawlinson's life and work, xiii-xxii; his 'Forty-one Years in India,' quoted, 258, 259, 275–279; his share in the second Affghan War, 276, 279
Rose, Colonel, 168
Ross, Dr., 60
Rothschild, Baron, 244
Royal Asiatic Society, 65, 70, 144, 146, 147, 151, 154, 157, 159, 162–165, 171, 189, 195, 242, 261, 310, 311, 313, 314, 322, 328-331, 333
Royal Geographical Society, Sir Henry Rawlinson and the, 61, 68, 70, 165, 261, 264-266, 295, 298, 299, 335–337, 341, 343, 344, 347
Royal Institution, 164
Royal Society, 324
Royal Society of Literature, 261, 324, 344
Roza, 131, 132
Russell, Lord John, and Sir Henry Rawlinson, 172, 174, 230–232, 234, 235, 236–238, 247
Russia, her policy in Asia, xv, xix, xx, 67, 68, 71, 121, 158, 223, 226, 229, 230, 233, 247, 257–260, 270, 280, 285; at war with Turkey, 196, 197; her mission to Cabul, 274–278

SABÆAN antiquities, 165, 166
St. Martin, M., cuneiform discoverer, 310, 311, 312, 321
Sale, Sir Robert, 11, 83, 114
Salisbury, the Marquis of, 244, 264
Saloo Khan, 106
Sandford, Mr. Ashford, 243
Sassanian antiquities, 147, 165, 166
Sayce, Professor, 329
Schimmelpenninck, Mrs., 9
Schouvaloff, Count, 244
Schultz, Dr., 311, 312
Seistan frontier, 275, 281, 344, 346
Sennacherib inscriptions, 175, 176, 177
Seymour, Mr. Alfred, 243, 291
Seymour, Mr. Henry Danby, 236, 243, 291
Seymour, Miss Louise C. H., marriage to Sir Henry Rawlinson, 243; her death, 291
Shah Kamran, chief of Herat, 75
Shah Soojah, Amir of Affghanistan, and the great war of 1839–1842, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 85, 87, 89, 93, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 109
Shamil, the, his capture, 216–219
Shapur, the cave of, 37, 38 *n.*
Shee, Colonel, 168
Sherbrooke, Lord, 244
Sherif Khan, discoveries at, 175
Shiel, Colonel, 36, 168
Shir Ali, Amir of Affghanistan, 259, 272, 274–277
Shir Ali, Wali of Candahar, 283
Shumshoodeen Khan, 129, 130, 131
Shuster, 61, 63
Simonich, Count, 220
Sipah Salar, 228
Smith, Mr. George, 240, 241, 242, 243, 329, 333
Smith, Mr. Richard, 4 *n.*, 8
Smith, Mrs. Brooke, 64
Smith, the Right Hon. R. Vernon, 202
Somnauth, the Temple of, 132
'Sporting Magazine,' quoted, 27–34
Stacey, Colonel, 112, 119, 122, 123, 125
Stael, M. de, 244
Stanley, Dean, 165, 244
Stanley, Lord (afterwards Earl of Derby), 205, 206, 207, 247, 256
Stewart, General D., his share in the second Affghan War, 276, 279
Stoddart, Colonel, 253
Stolietoff, General, his mission to Cabul, 274
Strangford, Lord, 343, 346
Stratford de Redcliffe, Lord. *See* Canning, Sir Stratford
Strong, Rev. P. H. S., 157
Sufder Jung, Prince, 81, 91, 92, 94, 97, 106, 115, 121, 126, 127, 128
Sukkur, 119, 126, 135
Suleiman Khan, Governor of the Zohab district, 59
Sultan Khan, 233

Sumud Khan, 91
Suram, 215
Susa and Susiana, discoveries in, 61, 172, 174, 175
Sutlej, 135, 137

Tait, 123
Taj Mohammed, 90
Takht-i-Bostan, inscriptions at, 57, 58
Takht-i-Suleiman, ruins of, 335, 339, 340
Talbot, Mr. Fox, 181, 329
Taplow, 296
Taylor, Colonel, 60, 140
Taylor, Mr. John, 173
Teheran, account of the reception of the British detachment at, 40–44; Sir Henry Rawlinson's reception at, 221
Thackeray, W. M., 299
Theodore, King, of Abyssinia, 248, 249, 250, 254, 255
Thomas, Edwin, 147
Thomson, Mr. Ronald, 232
Thornton, Sir Edward, 285
Tiflis, 216, 219, 220
Tiglath-Pileser I. inscription, 181
'Times,' the, cited, 11, 237, 270, 287
Timour, Shahzada, 102, 115, 116, 122, 127, 128
Tonietta, M. Joseph, 188, 189
Turf, Mr. Abram Tyzack Rawlinson's interest in the, 7, 8, 296
Turkey, her relations with Persia and Russia, 196, 197, 275
Turkish Arabia, Major Rawlinson as Political Agent in, xvi–xviii, 139, 140, 142, 167, 173, 200
Turner, General, 11
Tyzack, Miss Martha, 3

Upton, Hon. G., 35

Ussuf ool Dowleh, Affghan minister, 44

Van, inscriptions at, 312
Vaux, 242
Vickovich, Captain, the Russian Agent, xv, 67 *n.*, 68 *n.*, 71
Victoria, Queen, and Sir Henry Rawlinson, 162; her presents to the Shah, 221, 222
Victoria Institute, Bath, 164
Vincent, 338

Walter, Mr. John, 244
Watts, G. F., 244
Wensleydale, Lord, 233, 244
Westergaard, Professor, 143, 144, 320 *n.*
Wilberforce, Bishop, 244
Wilbraham, Colonel, 168
Williams, Colonel, 168
Wilson, Captain, 90
Wood, Sir Charles, 226, 236
Woodburn, Colonel, 81
Woodfall, Colonel, 168
Wornum, R. N., 12
Wrington, school life at, 9, 10
Wymer, Colonel, 82, 113, 119–121
Wyndham, Captain, 83
Wyse, Sir Thomas, 210, 211

Yakub Khan, Amir of Affghanistan, 277–279
Yar Mohammed, his designs on Candahar, 75, 76, 79
Yule, Colonel, 244

Zagros, 147
Zelenoi, General, 286
Zemindawer, 78, 79, 80
Zend, 314, 315
Zengui River, 220
Zohab, 60, 61
'Zubber Jung' (Ghuzni gun), 131

PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
LONDON

G

AND

ADV

IOG
MO

CHIL

CLAS
AT

COO
ME

EVO
&c.

FIC

FUR

HIST
PO

LAN
SC

LON
FO

A Classified Catalogue
OF WORKS IN
GENERAL LITERATURE
PUBLISHED BY
LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.
91 AND 93 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, AND 32 HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY.

CONTENTS.

PAGE
BADMINTON LIBRARY (THE) - 10
BIOGRAPHY, PERSONAL MEMOIRS, &c. - 7
CHILDREN'S BOOKS - 26
CLASSICAL LITERATURE TRANSLATIONS, ETC. - 18
COOKERY, DOMESTIC MANAGEMENT, &c. - 28
EVOLUTION, ANTHROPOLOGY, &c. - 17
FICTION, HUMOUR, &c. - 21
FUR, FEATHER AND FIN SERIES 12
HISTORY, POLITICS, POLITY, POLITICAL MEMOIRS, &c. - 3
LANGUAGE, HISTORY AND SCIENCE OF - 16
LONGMANS' SERIES OF BOOKS FOR GIRLS - 26
PAGE
MANUALS OF CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHY - 16
MENTAL, MORAL, AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY - 14
MISCELLANEOUS AND CRITICAL WORKS - 29
MISCELLANEOUS THEOLOGICAL WORKS - 31
POETRY AND THE DRAMA - 18
POLITICAL ECONOMY AND ECONOMICS - 16
POPULAR SCIENCE - 24
SILVER LIBRARY (THE) - 27
SPORT AND PASTIME - 10
TRAVEL AND ADVENTURE, THE COLONIES, &c. - 8
VETERINARY MEDICINE, &c. - 10
WORKS OF REFERENCE - 25

INDEX OF AUTHORS AND EDITORS.

Page
Abbott (Evelyn) - 3, 18
—— (T. K.) - 14
—— (E. A.) - 14
Acland (A. H. D.) - 3
Acton (Eliza) - 28
Adeane (J. H.) - 7
Æschylus - 18
Ainger (A. C.) - 11
Albemarle (Earl of) - 11
Allen (Grant) - 24
Allingham (W.) - 18, 29
—— (F.) - 21
André (R.) - 12
Anstey (F.) - 21
Archer (W.) - 8
Aristophanes - 18
Aristotle - 14, 18
Armstrong (G. F. Savage) - 19
—— (E. J. Savage) 7, 19, 29
Arnold (Sir Edwin) - 8, 19
—— (Dr. T.) - 3
Ashley (W. J.) - 16
Astor (J. J.) - 21
Atelier du Lys (Author of) - 26
Ayre (Rev. J.) - 25

Bacon - 7, 14
Baden-Powell (B. H.) 3
Bagehot (W.) - 7, 16, 29
Bagwell (R.) - 3
Page
Bain (Alexander) - 14
Baker (Sir S. W.) - 8, 10
Baldwin (C. S.) - 14
Balfour (A. J.) - 11, 31
Ball (J. T.) - 3
Baring-Gould (Rev. S.) - 27, 29
Barnett (Rev. S. A. & Mrs.) - 16
Baynes (T. S.) - 29
Beaconsfield (Earl of) 21
Beaufort (Duke of) - 10, 11
Becker (Prof.) - 18
Beesly (A. H.) - 19
Bell (Mrs. Hugh) - 19
—— (Mrs. Arthur) - 7
Bent (J. Theodore) - 8
Besant (Sir Walter) - 3
Bickerdyke (J.) - 11
Bicknell (A. C.) - 8
Bird (R.) - 31
Black (Clementina) . 21
Blackwell (Elizabeth) 7
Bland (Mrs. Hubert) 20
Boase (Rev. C. W.) - 4
Boedder (Rev. B.) - 16
Bosanquet (B.) - 14
Boyd (Rev. A. K. H.) 7, 29, 31
Brassey (Lady) - 8, 9
—— (Lord) 3, 8, 11, 16
Bray (C. and Mrs.) - 14
Bright (Rev. J. F.) - 3
Page
Broadfoot (Major W.) 10
Brögger (W. C.) - 8
Brookings (W.) - 29
Browning (H. Ellen) 9
Buck (H. A.) - 11
Buckle (H. T.) - 3
Bull (T.) - 28
Burke (U. R.) - 3
Burrows (Montagu) 4
Butler (E. A.) - 24
—— (Samuel) - 29

Cameron of Lochiel 12
Camperdown (Earl of) 7
Cannan (E.) - 17
—— (F. Laura) . 13
Chesney (Sir G.) - 3
Chisholm (G. G.) - 25
Cholmondeley-Pennell (H.) - 11
Churchill (W. Spencer) 9
Cicero - 18
Clarke (Rev. R. F.) - 16
Clodd (Edward) - 17
Clutterbuck (W. J.) - 9
Cochrane (A.) - 19
Coleridge (S. T.) - 20
Comyn (L. N.) - 26
Conington (John) - 18
Conybeare (Rev. W. J.) & Howson (Dean) 27
Corbett (Julian S.) - 3
Page
Corder (Annie) - 19
Coventry (A.) - 11
Cox (Harding) - 10
Crake (Rev. A. D.) - 26
Creighton (Bishop) - 3, 4
Crozier (J. B.) - 14
Crump (A.) - 21
Cuningham (G. C.) - 3
Curzon (Hon. G. N.) 3
Cutts (Rev. E. L.) - 4

Dallinger (F. W.) - 4
Davidson (W. L.) 14, 16, 32
Davies (J. F.) - 18
Deland (Mrs.) - 21, 26
Dent (C. T.) - 11
Deploige - 17
De Salis (Mrs.) - 28, 29
De Tocqueville (A.) - 3
Devas (C. S.) - 16
Dickinson (G. L.) - 4
Diderot - 21
Dougall (L.) - 21
Douglas (Sir G.) - 19
Dowell (S.) - 16, 30
Doyle (A. Conan) - 21
Dreyfus (Irma) - 30
Du Bois (W. E. B.) - 4
Dufferin (Marquis of) 11
Dunbar (Mary F.) - 20

Eardley-Wilmot (Capt. S.) - 8

INDEX OF AUTHORS AND EDITORS—*continued.*

Page
Ebrington (Viscount) 12
Egbert (J. C.) - - 18
Eggleston (E.) - - 4
Ellis (J. H.) - - 12
—— (R. L.) - - 14
Evans (Sir John) - 30

Farrar (Dean) - - 16, 21
Fitzwygram (Sir F.) 10
Folkard (H. C.) - 12
Ford (H.) - - - 12
Fowler (Edith H.) - 21
Foxcroft (H. C.) - 7
Francis (Francis) - 12
Freeman (Edward A.) 4
Froude (James A.) 4, 7, 9, 21
Furneaux (W.) - 24

Galton (W. F.) - 17
Gardiner (Samuel R.) 4
Gathorne-Hardy (Hon. A. E.) - - 12
Gerard (Dorothea) - 26
Gibbons (J. S.) - 11, 12
Gibson (Hon. H.) - 13
—— (C. H.) - - 14
—— (Hon. W.) - 32
Gilkes (A. H.) - 21
Gill (H. J.) - - 22
Gleig (Rev. G. R.) - 8
Goethe - - - 19
Graham (P. A.) - 13, 21
—— (G. F.) - - 16
Granby (Marquis of) 12
Grant (Sir A.) - - 14
Graves (R. P.) - - 7
Green (T. Hill) - 14
Greville (C. C. F.) - 4
Grey (Maria) - 26
Grose (T. H.) - - 14
Grove (F. C.) - - 11
—— (Mrs. Lilly) - 11
Gurdon (Lady Camilla) 21
Gurney (Rev. A.) - 19
Gwilt (J.) - - - 25

Haggard (H. Rider) 21, 22
Hake (O.) - - - 11
Halliwell-Phillipps (J.) 8
Hamlin (A. D. F.) - 30
Hammond (Mrs. J. H.) 4
Hampton (Lady Laura) 30
Harding (S. B.) - 4
Harte (Bret) - - 22
Harting (J. E.) - - 12
Hartwig (G.) - - 24
Hassall (A.) - - 6
Haweis (Rev. H. R.) 7, 30
Heath (D. D.) - - 14
Heathcote (J. M. and C. G.) - - 11
Helmholtz (Hermann von) - - - 24
Henderson (Lieut.-Col. G. F.) - 7
Henry (W.) - - 11
Herbert (Col. Kenney) 12
Hewins (W. A. S.) - 17
Hill (Sylvia M.) - 21
Hillier (G. Lacy) - 10
Hime (Lieut.-Col. H. W. L.) - - 30
Hodgson (Shadworth H.) 14
Holroyd (Maria J.) - 7
Hope (Anthony) - 22
Horace - - - 18
Hornung (E. W.) - 22
Houston (D. F.) - 4
Howell (G.) - - 16
Howitt (W.) - - 9
Hudson (W. H.) - 24
Hueffer (F. M.) - 7
Hume (David) - - 14
Hunt (Rev. W.) - 4
Hutchinson (Horace G.) 11

Ingelow (Jean - 19, 26

James (W.) - - 14
Jefferies (Richard) - 30

Page
Jenery-Shee (R.) - 17
Jerome (Jerome K.) - 22
Johnson (J. & J. H.) 30
Jones (H. Bence) - 25
—— (Owen G.) - 9
Jordan (W. L.) - 16
Jowett (Dr. B.) - 17
Joyce (P. W.) - - 5
Justinian - - - 14

Kalisch (M. M.) - 32
Kant (I.) - - - 14
Kaye (Sir J. W.) - 5
Kerr (Rev. J.) - - 11
Killick (Rev. A. H.) - 15
Kitchin (Dr. G. W.) 4
Knight (E. F.) - 5, 9, 11
Köstlin (J.) - - 7

Ladd (G. T.) - - 15
Lang (Andrew) 5, 10, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 26, 30
Lascelles (Hon. G.) 10, 11, 12
Laughton (J. K.) - 8
Laurie (S. S.) - - 5
Layard (Nina F.) - 19
Leaf (Walter) - - 31
Lear (H. L. Sidney) - 29
Lecky (W. E. H.) - 5, 19
Lees (J. A.) - - 9
Lejeune (Baron) - 7
Leslie (T. E. Cliffe) - 16
Lester (L. V.) - - 7
Levett-Yeats (S.) - 22
Lewes (G. H.) - - 15
Lillie (A.) - - - 13
Lindley (J.) - - 25
Lodge (H. C.) - - 4
Loftie (Rev. W. J.) - 4
Longman (C. J.) 10, 13, 30
—— (F. W.) - - 13
—— (G. H.) - - 11, 12
Lowell (A. L.) - - 5
Lubbock (Sir John) - 17
Lucan - - - 18
Lutoslawski (W.) - 15
Lyall (Edna) - - 22
Lyttelton (Hon. R. H.) 10
—— (Hon. A.) - - 11
Lytton (Earl of) - 19

MacArthur (Miss E. A.) 17
Macaulay (Lord) 5, 6, 20
MacColl (Canon) - 6
Macdonald (G.) - 9
—— (Dr. G.) - - 20, 32
Macfarren (Sir G. A.) 30
Mackail (J. W.) - 18
Mackinnon (J.) - 6
Macleod (H. D.) - 16
Macpherson (Rev. H. A.) 12
Madden (D. H.) - 13
Maher (Rev. M.) - 16
Malleson (Col. G. B.) 5
Mandello (J.) - - 17
Marbot (Baron de) - 8
Marshman (J. C.) - 7
Martineau (Dr. James) 32
Maskelyne (J. N.) - 13
Maunder (S.) - - 25
Max Müller (F.) 8, 15, 16, 30, 32
—— (Mrs.) - - 9
May (Sir T. Erskine) 6
Meade (L. T.) - - 26
Melville (G. J. Whyte) 22
Merivale (Dean) - 6
Merriman (H. S.) - 22
Mill (James) - - 15
—— (John Stuart) - 15, 17
Milner (G.) - - 30
Miss Molly (*Author of*) 26
Moffat (D.) - - 13
Molesworth (Mrs.) - 26
Monck (W. H. S.) - 15
Montague (F. C.) - 6
Montagu (Hon. John Scott) - - 12

Page
Moore (T.) - - 25
—— (Rev. Edward) - 14
Morgan (C. Lloyd) - 17
Morris (W.) - 20, 22, 31
—— (Mowbray) - 11
Mulhall (M. G.) - 17
Munk (W.) - - 7

Nansen (F.) - - 9
Nesbit (E.) - - 20
Nettleship (R. L.) - 14
Newman (Cardinal) - 22

Ogle (W.) - - - 18
Oliphant (Mrs.) - 22
Oliver (W. D.) - 9
Onslow (Earl of) - 11
Orchard (T. N.) - 31
Osbourne (L) - - 23

Park (W.) - - 13
Parr (Louisa) - - 26
Payne-Gallwey (Sir R.) - - - 11, 13
Peek (Hedley) - - 11
Pembroke (Earl of) - 11
Phillipps-Wolley (C.) 10, 22
Pleydell-Bouverie (E. O.) 11
Pole (W.) - - - 13
Pollock (W. H.) - 11
Poole (W. H. and Mrs.) 29
Poore (G. V.) - - 31
Potter (J.) - - 16
Praeger (S. Rosamond) 26
Prevost (C.) - - 11
Pritchett (R. T.) - 11
Proctor (R. A.) 13, 24, 28, 31

Quill (A. W.) - - 18
Quillinan (Mrs.) - 9
Quintana (A.) - - 22

Raine (Rev. James) - 4
Ransome (Cyril) - 3
Rawlinson (Rev. Canon) - - 8
Rhoades (J.) - - 18
Rhoscomyl (O.) - 23
Ribblesdale (Lord) - 13
Rich (A.) - - - 18
Richardson (C.) - 12
Richman (I. B.) - 6
Rickaby (Rev. John) 16
—— (Rev. Joseph) - 16
Ridley (Annie E.) - 7
—— (Sir E.) - - 18
Riley (J. W.) - - 20
Roget (Peter M.) - 16, 25
Rolfsen (N.) - - 8
Romanes (G. J.) 8, 15, 17, 20, 32
—— (Mrs.) - - 8
Ronalds (A.) - - 13
Roosevelt (T.) - - 4
Rossetti (Maria Francesca) - - - 31
—— (W. M.) - - 20
Russell (Bertrand) - 17
—— (Alys) - - 17

Saintsbury (G.) - 12
Sandars (T. C.) - 14
Schreiner (S. C. Cronwright) - - 10
Seebohm (F.) - - 6, 8
Selous (F. C.) - - 10
Selss (A. M.) - - 19
Sewell (Elizabeth M.) 23
Shakespeare - - 20
Shand (A I.) - - 12
Sharpe (R. R.) - - 6
Shearman (M.) - 10
Sinclair (A.) - - 11
Smith (R. Bosworth) 6
—— (T. C.) - - 4
—— (W. P. Haskett) 9
Soderini (Count E.) - 17
Solovyoff (V. S.) - 31
Sophocles - - 18
Soulsby (Lucy H.) 26, 31
Spedding (J.) - - 7, 14

Page
Sprigge (S. Squire) - 8
Stanley (Bishop) - 24
Steel (A. G.) - - 10
—— (J. H.) - - 10
Stephen (Leslie) - 9
Stephens (H. Morse) 6
Stevens (R. W.) - 31
Stevenson (R. L.) - 23, 26
Stock (St. George) - 15
'Stonehenge' - - 10
Storr (F.) - - - 14
Stuart-Wortley (A. J.) 11, 12
Stubbs (J. W.) - - 6
Sturdy (E. T.) - - 30
Suffolk & Berkshire (Earl of) - - 11
Sullivan (Sir E.) - 11
—— (J. F.) - - 26
Sully (James) - - 15
Sutherland (A. and G.) 6
—— (Alex.) - - 15, 31
Suttner (B. von) - 23
Swinburne (A. J.) - 15
Symes (J. E.) - - 17

Tacitus - - - 18
Taylor (Col. Meadows) 17
—— (Una) - - 23
Tebbutt (C. G.) - 11
Thompson (N. G.) - 13
Thornhill (W. J.) - 18
Todd (A.) - - - 6
Toynbee (A.) - - 17
Trevelyan (Sir G. O.) 7
—— (C. P.) - - 17
Trollope (Anthony) - 23
Tupper (J. L.) - - 20
Turner (H. G.) - 31
Tyndall (J.) - - 9
Tyrrell (R. Y.) - - 18

Upton (F. K. and Bertha) - - 26

Vaughan (Cardinal) - 17
Verney (Frances P. and Margaret M.) 8
Vincent (J. E.) - - 17
Virgil - - - 18
Vivekananda (Swami) 32
Vivian (Herbert) - 9

Wakeman (H. O.) - 6
Walford (L. B.) - 23
Walker (Jane H.) - 29
Wallas (Graham) - 8
Walpole (Sir Spencer) 6
Walrond (Col. H.) - 10
Walsingham (Lord) - 11
Walter (J.) - - 8
Warwick (Countess of) 31
Watson (A. E. T.) 10, 11, 12, 23
Waylen (H. S. H.) - 30
Webb (Mr. and Mrs. Sidney) - - 17
—— (T. E.) - - 19
Weber (A.) - - 15
Weir (Capt. R.) - 11
Weyman (Stanley) - 23
Whately (Archbishop) 14, 15
—— (E. Jane) - - 16
Whishaw (F. J.) - 23
White (W. Hale) - 20
Whitelaw (R.) - - 18
Wilcocks (J. C.) - 13
Wilkins (G.) - - 18
Willich (C. M.) - 25
Witham (T. M.) - 11
Wood (Rev. J. G.) - 25
Woodgate (W. B.) - 10
Wood-Martin (W. G.) 6
Woods (Margaret L.) 23
Wordsworth (Elizabeth) 26
—— (William) - - 20
Wylie (J. H.) - - 6

Youatt (W.) - - 10

Zeller (E.) - - 15

History, Politics, Polity, Political Memoirs, &c.

Abbott.—*A History of Greece.* By Evelyn Abbott, M.A., LL.D.
Part I.—From the Earliest Times to the Ionian Revolt. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.
Part II.—500-445 B.C. Crown 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Acland and Ransome.—*A Handbook in Outline of the Political History of England to* 1896. Chronologically Arranged. By the Right Hon. A. H. Dyke Acland, M.P., and Cyril Ransome, M.A. Crown 8vo., 6s.

ANNUAL REGISTER (THE). A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad, for the year 1896. 8vo., 18s.

Volumes of the *Annual Register* for the years 1863-1895 can still be had. 18s. each.

Arnold.—*Introductory Lectures on Modern History.* By Thomas Arnold, D.D., formerly Head Master of Rugby School. 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Baden-Powell.—*The Indian Village Community.* Examined with Reference to the Physical, Ethnographic, and Historical Conditions of the Provinces; chiefly on the Basis of the Revenue-Settlement Records and District Manuals. By B. H. Baden-Powell, M.A., C.I.E. With Map. 8vo., 16s.

Bagwell.—*Ireland under the Tudors.* By Richard Bagwell, LL.D. (3 vols.) Vols. I. and II. From the first invasion of the Northmen to the year 1578. 8vo., 32s. Vol. III. 1578-1603. 8vo., 18s.

Ball.—*Historical Review of the Legislative Systems operative in Ireland,* from the Invasion of Henry the Second to the Union (1172-1800). By the Rt. Hon. J. T. Ball. 8vo., 6s.

Besant.—*The History of London.* By Sir Walter Besant. With 74 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 1s. 9d. Or bound as a School Prize Book, 2s. 6d.

Brassey (Lord).—Papers and Addresses.

Naval and Maritime. 1872-1893. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 10s.

Mercantile Marine and Navigation, from 1871-1894. Crown 8vo., 5s.

Imperial Federation and Colonisation from 1880-1894. Cr. 8vo., 5s.

Brassey (Lord) Papers and Addresses—*continued.*

Political and Miscellaneous. 1861-1894. Crown 8vo., 5s.

Bright.—*A History of England.* By the Rev. J. Franck Bright, D.D.
Period I. *Mediæval Monarchy:* A.D. 449-1485. Crown 8vo., 4s. 6d.
Period II. *Personal Monarchy.* 1485-1688. Crown 8vo., 5s.
Period III. *Constitutional Monarchy.* 1689-1837. Crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.
Period IV. *The Growth of Democracy.* 1837-1880. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Buckle.—*History of Civilisation in England and France, Spain and Scotland.* By Henry Thomas Buckle. 3 vols. Crown 8vo., 24s.

Burke.—*A History of Spain* from the Earliest Times to the Death of Ferdinand the Catholic. By Ulick Ralph Burke, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo., 32s.

Chesney.—*Indian Polity:* a View of the System of Administration in India. By General Sir George Chesney, K.C.B. With Map showing all the Administrative Divisions of British India. 8vo., 21s.

Corbett.—*Drake and the Tudor Navy,* with a History of the Rise of England as a Maritime Power. By Julian S. Corbett. With Portraits, Illustrations and Maps. 2 vols. 8vo., 36s.

Creighton.—*A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome,* 1378-1527. By M. Creighton, D.D., Lord Bishop of London. 6 vols. Crown 8vo., 6s. each.

Cuningham.—*A Scheme for Imperial Federation:* a Senate for the Empire. By Granville C. Cuningham, of Montreal, Canada. With an Introduction by Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Curzon.—*Persia and the Persian Question.* By the Right Hon. George N. Curzon, M.P. With 9 Maps, 96 Illustrations, Appendices, and an Index. 2 vols. 8vo., 42s.

De Tocqueville.—*Democracy in America.* By Alexis de Tocqueville. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 16s.

History, Politics, Polity, Political Memoirs, &c.—*continued.*

Dickinson.—*The Development of Parliament during the Nineteenth Century.* By G. Lowes Dickinson, M.A. 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Eggleston.—*The Beginners of a Nation:* a History of the Source and Rise of the Earliest English Settlements in America, with Special Reference to the Life and Character of the People. By Edward Eggleston. With 8 Maps. Cr. 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Froude (James A.).

The History of England, from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

Popular Edition. 12 vols. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

'*Silver Library*' *Edition.* 12 vols. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Spanish Story of the Armada, and other Essays. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century. 3 vols. Cr. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century. Cr. 8vo., 6*s.*

The Council of Trent. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Short Studies on Great Subjects. 4 vols. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Cæsar: a Sketch. Cr. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Gardiner (Samuel Rawson, D.C.L., LL.D.).

History of England, from the Accession of James I. to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642. 10 vols. Crown 8vo., 6*s.* each.

A History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649. 4 vols. Cr. 8vo., 6*s.* each.

A History of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. 1649-1660. Vol. I. 1649-1651. With 14 Maps. 8vo., 21*s.* Vol. II. 1651-1654. With 7 Maps. 8vo., 21*s.*

What Gunpowder Plot Was. With 8 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Gardiner (Samuel Rawson, D.C.L., LL.D.)—*continued.*

Cromwell's Place in History. Founded on Six Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Student's History of England. With 378 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 12*s.*

Also in Three Volumes, price 4*s.* each.
Vol. I. B.C. 55—A.D. 1509. 173 Illustrations.
Vol. II. 1509-1689. 96 Illustrations.
Vol. III. 1689-1885. 109 Illustrations.

Greville.—*A Journal of the Reigns of King George IV., King William IV., and Queen Victoria.* By Charles C. F. Greville, formerly Clerk of the Council. 8 vols. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

HARVARD HISTORICAL STUDIES.

The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870. By W. E. B. Du Bois, Ph.D. 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Contest over the Ratificaton of the Federal Constitution in Massachusetts. By S. B. Harding, A.M. 8vo., 6*s.*

A Critical Study of Nullification in South Carolina. By D. F. Houston, A.M. 8vo., 6*s.*

Nominations for Elective Office in the United States. By Frederick W. Dallinger, A.M. 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

A Bibliography of British Municipal History, including Gilds and Parliamentary Representation. By Charles Gross, Ph.D. 8vo., 12*s.*

The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest. By Theodore C. Smith, Ph.D. 8vo.

*** *Other Volumes are in preparation.*

Hammond.—*A Woman's Part in a Revolution.* By Mrs. John Hays Hammond. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Historic Towns.—Edited by E. A. Freeman, D.C.L., and Rev. William Hunt, M.A. With Maps and Plans. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Bristol. By Rev. W. Hunt.
Carlisle. By Mandell Creighton, D.D.
Cinque Ports. By Montague Burrows.
Colchester. By Rev. E. L. Cutts.
Exeter. By E. A. Freeman.
London. By Rev. W. J. Loftie.
Oxford. By Rev. C. W. Boase.
Winchester. By G. W. Kitchin, D.D.
York. By Rev. James Raine.
New York. By Theodore Roosevelt.
Boston (U.S.) By Henry Cabot Lodge.

History, Politics, Polity, Political Memoirs, &c.—*continued.*

Joyce (P. W., LL.D.).

A Short History of Ireland, from the Earliest Times to 1603. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

A Child's History of Ireland. From the Earliest Times to the Death of O'Connell. With specially constructed Map and 160 Illustrations, including Facsimile in full colours of an illuminated page of the Gospel Book of MacDurnan, A.D. 850. Fcp. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Kaye and Malleson.—*History of the Indian Mutiny*, 1857-1858. By Sir John W. Kaye and Colonel G. B. Malleson. With Analytical Index and Maps and Plans. 6 vols. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Knight.—*Madagascar in War Time: The Experiences of* 'The Times' *Special Correspondent with the Hovas during the French Invasion of* 1895. By E. F. Knight. With 16 Illustrations and a Map. 8vo., 12*s.* 6*d.*

Lang (Andrew).

Pickle the Spy: or, The Incognito of Prince Charles. With 6 Portraits. 8vo., 18*s.*

St. Andrews. With 8 Plates and 24 Illustrations in the Text by T. Hodge. 8vo., 15*s.* net.

Laurie.—*Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education.* By S. S. Laurie, A.M., LL.D. 8vo., 12*s.*

Lecky (The Rt. Hon. William E. H.)

History of England in the Eighteenth Century.

Library Edition. 8 vols. 8vo., £7 4*s.*

Cabinet Edition. England. 7 vols. Crown 8vo., 6*s.* each. Ireland. 5 vols. Crown 8vo., 6*s.* each.

History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 16*s.*

History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 16*s.*

Democracy and Liberty. 2 vols. 8vo., 36*s.*

The Empire: its value and its Growth. An Inaugural Address delivered at the Imperial Institute, 20th November, 1893. Cr. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

Lowell.—*Governments and Parties in Continental Europe.* By A. Lawrence Lowell. 2 vols. 8vo., 21*s.*

Macaulay (Lord).

The Life and Works of Lord Macaulay. 'Edinburgh' Edition. 10 vols. 8vo., 6*s.* each.

Vols. I.-IV. *History of England.*
Vols. V.-VII. *Essays; Biographies; Indian Penal Code; Contributions to Knight's 'Quarterly Magazine'.*
Vol. VIII. *Speeches; Lays of Ancient Rome: Miscellaneous Poems.*
Vols. IX. and X. *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay.* By the Right Hon. Sir G. O. Trevelyan, Bart.

This Edition is a cheaper reprint of the Library Edition of Lord Macaulay's *Life and Works.*

Complete Works.

Cabinet Edition. 16 vols. Post 8vo., £4 16*s.*
Library Edition. 8 vols. 8vo., £5 5s.
'*Edinburgh*' *Edition.* 8 vols. 8vo., 6*s.* each.

History of England from the Accession of James the Second.

Popular Edition. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo., 5*s.*
Student's Edition. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo., 12*s.*
People's Edition. 4 vols. Cr. 8vo., 16*s.*
Cabinet Edition. 8 vols. Post 8vo., 48s.
'*Edinburgh*' *Edition.* 4 vols. 8vo., 6*s.* each.
Library Edition. 5 vols. 8vo., £4.

Critical and Historical Essays, with Lays of Ancient Rome, etc., in 1 volume.

Popular Edition. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*
Authorised Edition. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*, or gilt edges, 3*s.* 6*d.*
'*Silver Library*' *Edition.* With Portrait and 4 Illustrations to the 'Lays'. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Critical and Historical Essays.

Student's Edition. 1 vol. Cr. 8vo., 6*s.*
People's Edition. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo., 8*s.*
'*Trevelyan*' *Edition.* 2 vols. Cr. 8vo., 9*s.*
Cabinet Edition. 4 vols. Post 8vo., 24*s.*
'*Edinburgh*' *Edition.* 3 vols. 8vo., 6*s.* each.
Library Edition. 3 vols. 8vo., 36*s.*

Essays, which may be had separately, sewed, 6*d.* each; cloth, 1*s.* each.

Addison and Walpole.
Croker's Boswell's Johnson.
Hallam's Constitutional History.
Warren Hastings.
The Earl of Chatham (Two Essays).
Frederick the Great.
Ranke and Gladstone.
Milton and Machiavelli.
Lord Byron.
Lord Clive.
Lord Byron, and The Comic Dramatists of the Restoration.

Miscellaneous Writings

People's Edition. 1 vol. Cr. 8vo., 4*s.* 6*d.*
Library Edition. 2 vols. 8vo., 21*s.*

History, Politics, Polity, Political Memoirs, &c.—*continued*.

Macaulay (Lord)—*continued*.

Miscellaneous Writings, Speeches and Poems.
Popular Edition. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*
Cabinet Edition. 4 vols. Post 8vo., 24*s.*

Selections from the Writings of Lord Macaulay. Edited, with Occasional Notes, by the Right Hon. Sir G. O. Trevelyan, Bart. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

MacColl.—*The Sultan and the Powers.* By the Rev. Malcolm MacColl, M.A., Canon of Ripon. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Mackinnon.—*The Union of England and Scotland: a Study of International History.* By James Mackinnon. Ph.D. Examiner in History to the University of Edinburgh. 8vo., 16*s.*

May.—*The Constitutional History of England* since the Accession of George III. 1760-1870. By Sir Thomas Erskine May, K.C.B. (Lord Farnborough). 3 vols. Cr. 8vo., 18*s.*

Merivale (Charles, D.D.), sometime Dean of Ely.

History of the Romans under the Empire. 8 vols. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Fall of the Roman Republic: a Short History of the Last Century of the Commonwealth. 12mo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

General History of Rome, from the Foundation of the City to the Fall of Augustulus, B.C. 753-A.D. 476. With 5 Maps. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Montague. — *The Elements of English Constitutional History.* By F. C. Montague, M.A. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Richman.—*Appenzell: Pure Democracy and Pastoral Life in Inner-Rhoden.* A Swiss Study. By Irving B. Richman, Consul-General of the United States to Switzerland. With Maps. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Seebohm (Frederic).

The English Village Community Examined in its Relations to the Manorial and Tribal Systems, etc. With 13 Maps and Plates. 8vo., 16*s.*

The Tribal System in Wales: Being Part of an Inquiry into the Structure and Methods of Tribal Society. With 3 Maps. 8vo., 12*s.*

Sharpe.—*London and the Kingdom:* a History derived mainly from the Archives at Guildhall in the custody of the Corporation of the City of London. By Reginald R. Sharpe, D.C.L., Records Clerk in the Office of the Town Clerk of the City of London. 3 vols. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.* each.

Smith.—*Carthage and the Carthaginians.* By R. Bosworth Smith, M.A. With Maps, Plans, etc. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Stephens. — *A History of the French Revolution.* By H. Morse Stephens. 3 vols. 8vo. Vols. I. and II 18*s.* each.

Stubbs.—*History of the University of Dublin*, from its Foundation to the End of the Eighteenth Century. By J W. Stubbs. 8vo., 12*s.* 6*d.*

Sutherland.—*The History of Australia and New Zealand*, from 1606-1890. By Alexander Sutherland, M.A. and George Sutherland, M.A. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Taylor.—*A Student's Manual of the History of India.* By Colonel Meadows Taylor, C.S.I., etc. Cr. 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Todd. — *Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies.* By Alpheus Todd, LL.D. 8vo., 30*s.* net.

Wakeman and Hassall.—*Essays Introductory to the Study of English Constitutional History.* By Resident Members of the University of Oxford. Edited by Henry Offley Wakeman, M.A., and Arthur Hassall, M.A. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Walpole.—*History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in* 1815 *to* 1858. By Sir Spencer Walpole, K.C.B. 6 vols. Crown 8vo., 6*s.* each.

Wood-Martin.—*Pagan Ireland: an Archæological Sketch.* A Handbook of Irish Pre-Christian Antiquities. By W. G. Wood-Martin, M.R.I.A. With 512 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 15*s.*

Wylie. — *History of England under Henry IV.* By James Hamilton Wylie, M.A., one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools. 3 vols. Crown 8vo. Vol. I., 1399-1404, 10*s.* 6*d.* Vol. II., 1405-1406, 15*s.* Vol. III., 1407-1411, 15*s.* [Vol. IV. *In the press.*

Biography, Personal Memoirs, &c.

Armstrong.—*The Life and Letters of Edmund J. Armstrong.* Edited by G. F. Savage Armstrong. Fcp. 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Bacon.—*The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon, including all his Occasional Works.* Edited by James Spedding. 7 vols. 8vo., £4 4*s.*

Bagehot.—*Biographical Studies.* By Walter Bagehot. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Blackwell. — *Pioneer Work in Opening the Medical Profession to Women:* Autobiographical Sketches. By Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell. Cr. 8vo., 6*s.*

Boyd (A. K. H.) (**'A.K.H.B.'**).

Twenty-five Years of St. Andrews. 1865-1890. 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. I. 12*s.* Vol. II. 15*s.*

St. Andrews and Elsewhere: Glimpses of Some Gone and of Things Left. 8vo., 15*s.*

The Last Years of St. Andrews: September 1890 *to September* 1895. 8vo., 15*s.*

Brown.—*Ford Madox Brown:* A Record of his Life and Works. By Ford M. Hueffer. With 45 Full-page Plates (22 Autotypes) and 7 Illustrations in the Text. 8vo., 42*s.*

Buss.—*Frances Mary Buss and her Work for Education.* By Annie E. Ridley. With 5 Portraits and 4 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Carlyle.—*Thomas Carlyle:* A History of his Life. By James Anthony Froude.

1795-1835. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 7*s.*
1834-1881. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 7*s.*

Digby.—*The Life of Sir Kenelm Digby, by one of his Descendants,* the Author of 'Falklands,' etc. With 7 Illustrations. 8vo., 16*s.*

Duncan.—*Admiral Duncan.* By The Earl of Camperdown. With 3 Portraits. 8vo.

Erasmus.—*Life and Letters of Erasmus.* By James Anthony Froude. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

FALKLANDS. By the Author of 'The Life of Sir Kenelm Digby,' etc. With 6 Portraits and 2 other Illustrations. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Faraday.—*Faraday as a Discoverer.* By John Tyndall. Crown 8vo, 4*s.* 6*d.*

Fox. — *The Early History of Charles James Fox.* By the Right Hon. Sir G. O. Trevelyan, Bart.

Library Edition. 8vo., 18*s.*
Cabinet Edition. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Halifax.—*The Life and Letters of Sir George Savile, Baronet, First Marquis of Halifax.* With a New Edition of his Works, now for the first time collected and revised. By H. C. Foxcroft. 2 vols. 8vo., 32*s.*

Halford.—*The Life of Sir Henry Halford, Bart., G.C.H., M.D., F.R.S.* By William Munk, M.D., F.S.A. 8vo., 12*s.* 6*d.*

Hamilton.—*Life of Sir William Hamilton.* By R. P. Graves. 8vo. 3 vols. 15*s.* each. Addendum. 8vo., 6*d.* sewed.

Harper. — *A Memoir of Hugo Daniel Harper, D.D.,* late Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and for many years Head Master of Sherborne School. By L. V. Lester, M.A. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Havelock.—*Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.* By John Clark Marshman. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haweis.—*My Musical Life.* By the Rev. H. R. Haweis. With Portrait of Richard Wagner and 3 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Holroyd.—*The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd (Lady Stanley of Alderley).* Recorded in Letters of a Hundred Years Ago, from 1776-1796. Edited by J. H. Adeane. With 6 Portraits. 8vo., 18*s.*

Jackson. — *Stonewall Jackson.* By Lieut.-Col. G. F. Henderson, York and Lancaster Regiment. With Portrait, Maps and Plans. 2 vols. 8vo., 42*s.*

Lejeune.—*Memoirs of Baron Lejeune,* Aide-de-Camp to Marshals Berthier, Davout, and Oudinot. Translated and Edited from the Original French by Mrs. Arthur Bell (N. D'Anvers). With a Preface by Major-General Maurice, C.B. 2 vols. 8vo., 24*s.*

Luther. — *Life of Luther.* By Julius Köstlin. With 62 Illustrations and 4 Facsimilies of MSS. Translated from the German. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Macaulay.—*The Life and Letter of Lord Macaulay.* By the Right Hon. Sir G. O. Trevelyan, Bart.

Popular Edition. 1 vol. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*
Student's Edition 1 vol. Cr. 8vo., 6*s.*
Cabinet Edition. 2 vols. Post 8vo., 12*s.*
'Edinburgh' Edition. 2 vols. 8vo., 6*s.* each.
Library Edition. 2 vols. 8vo., 36*s.*

Biography, Personal Memoirs, &c.—*continued.*

Marbot. — *The Memoirs of the Baron de Marbot.* Translated from the French. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 7*s.*

Max Müller.—*Auld Lang Syne.* By the Right Hon. F. Max Müller. With Portrait. 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Contents.—Musical Recollections—Literary Recollections—Recollections of Royalties—Beggars.

Nansen.—*Fridtjof Nansen,* 1861-1893. By W. C. Brögger and Nordahl Rolfsen. Translated by William Archer. With 8 Plates, 48 Illustrations in the Text, and 3 Maps. 8vo., 12*s.* 6*d.*

Place.—*The Life of Francis Place,* 1771-1854. By Graham Wallas, M.A. With 2 Portraits. 8vo., 12*s.*

Rawlinson.—*A Memoir of Major-General Sir Henry Creswick Rawlinson, Bart., K.C.B., F.R.S., D.C.L., F.R.G.S., etc.* By George Rawlinson, M.A., F.R.G.S., Canon of Canterbury. With Portraits and a Map, and a Preface by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar, V.C. 8vo.

Reeve.—*The Life and Letters of Henry Reeve, C.B.,* late Editor of the 'Edinburgh Review,' and Registrar of the Privy Council. By J. K. Laughton, M.A.

Romanes.—*The Life and Letters of George John Romanes, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.* Written and Edited by his Wife. With Portrait and 2 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Seebohm.—*The Oxford Reformers—John Colet, Erasmus and Thomas More:* a History of their Fellow-Work. By Frederic Seebohm. 8vo., 14*s.*

Shakespeare. — *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.* By J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps. With Illustrations and Fac-similes. 2 vols. Royal 8vo., £1 1*s.*

Shakespeare's *True Life.* By James Walter. With 500 Illustrations by Gerald E. Moira. Imp. 8vo., 21*s.*

Verney. —*Memoirs of the Verney Family.*

Vols. I. & II., *During the Civil War.* By Frances Parthenope Verney. With 38 Portraits, Woodcuts and Fac-simile. Royal 8vo., 42*s.*

Vol. III., *During the Commonwealth.* 1650-1660. By Margaret M. Verney. With 10 Portraits, etc. Royal 8vo., 21*s.*

Wakley.—*The Life and Times of Thomas Wakley,* Founder and First Editor of the 'Lancet,' Member of Parliament for Finsbury, and Coroner for West Middlesex. By S. Squire Sprigge, M.B. Cantab. With 2 Portraits. 8vo., 18*s.*

Wellington.—*Life of the Duke of Wellington.* By the Rev. G. R. Gleig, M.A. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Travel and Adventure, the Colonies, &c.

Arnold.—*Seas and Lands.* By Sir Edwin Arnold. With 71 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Baker (Sir S. W.).

Eight Years in Ceylon. With 6 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Rifle and the Hound in Ceylon. With 6 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Bent.—*The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland:* being a Record of Excavation and Exploration in 1891. By J. Theodore Bent. With 117 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Bicknell.—*Travel and Adventure in Northern Queensland.* By Arthur C. Bicknell. With 24 Plates and 22 Illustrations in the Text. 8vo., 15*s.*

Brassey.— *Voyages and Travels of Lord Brassey, K.C.B., D.C.L.,* 1862-1894. Arranged and Edited by Captain S. Eardley-Wilmot. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo., 10*s.*

Brassey (the late Lady).

A Voyage in the 'Sunbeam'; Our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months.

Cabinet Edition. With Map and 66 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

'Silver Library' Edition. With 66 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Popular Edition. With 60 Illustrations. 4to., 6*d.* sewed, 1*s.* cloth.

School Edition. With 37 Illustrations. Fcp., 2*s.* cloth, or 3*s.* white parchment.

Travel and Adventure, the Colonies, &c.—*continued.*

Brassey (the late Lady)—*continued.*

Sunshine and Storm in the East.

Cabinet Edition. With 2 Maps and 114 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Popular Edition. With 103 Illustrations. 4to., 6*d.* sewed, 1*s.* cloth.

In the Trades, the Tropics, and the 'Roaring Forties'.

Cabinet Edition. With Map and 220 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Popular Edition. With 183 Illustrations. 4to., 6*d.* sewed, 1*s.* cloth.

Three Voyages in the 'Sunbeam'. Popular Ed. With 346 Illust. 4to., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Browning.—*A Girl's Wanderings in Hungary.* By H. Ellen Browning. With Map and 20 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Churchill.—*The Story of the Malakand Field Force,* 1897. By Winston Spencer Churchill, Lieut., 4th Queen's Own Hussars. With Maps and Plans. Crown 8vo.

Froude (James A.).

Oceana: or England and her Colonies. With 9 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* boards, 2*s.* 6*d.* cloth.

The English in the West Indies: or, the Bow of Ulysses. With 9 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* boards, 2*s.* 6*d.* cloth.

Howitt.—*Visits to Remarkable Places.* Old Halls, Battle-Fields, Scenes, illustrative of Striking Passages in English History and Poetry. By William Howitt. With 80 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Jones.—*Rock Climbing in the English Lake District.* By Owen Glynne Jones, B.Sc. (Lond.), Member of the Alpine Club. With 30 Full-page Illustrations in Collotype and 9 Lithograph Plate Diagrams of the Chief Routes. 8vo., 15*s.* net.

Knight (E. F.).

The Cruise of the 'Alerte': the Narrative of a Search for Treasure on the Desert Island of Trinidad. With 2 Maps and 23 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Where Three Empires meet: a Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Baltistan, Ladak, Gilgit, and the adjoining Countries. With a Map and 54 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3s. 6d.

The 'Falcon' on the Baltic: a Voyage from London to Copenhagen in a Three-Tonner. With 10 Full-page Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Lees and Clutterbuck.—B.C. 1887: *A Ramble in British Columbia.* By J. A. Lees and W. J. Clutterbuck. With Map and 75 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Macdonald.—*The Gold Coast: Past and Present.* By George Macdonald, Director of Education and H.M. Inspector of Schools for the Gold Coast Colony and the Protectorate. With Illustrations.

Max Müller.—*Letters from Constantinople.* By Mrs. Max Müller. With 12 Views of Constantinople and the neighbourhood. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Nansen (Fridtjof).

The First Crossing of Greenland. With 143 Illustrations and a Map, Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Eskimo Life. With 31 Illustrations. 8vo., 16*s.*

Oliver.—*Crags and Craters:* Rambles in the Island of Réunion. By William Dudley Oliver, M.A. With 27 Illustrations and a Map. Cr. 8vo., 6*s.*

Quillinan.—*Journal of a Few Months' Residence in Portugal,* and Glimpses of the South of Spain. By Mrs. Quillinan (Dora Wordsworth). With Memoir by Edmund Lee. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Smith.—*Climbing in the British Isles.* By W. P. Haskett Smith. With Illustrations by Ellis Carr, and Numerous Plans.

Part I. *England.* 16mo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Part II. *Wales and Ireland.* 16mo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Part III. *Scotland.* [*In preparation.*

Stephen.—*The Play-Ground of Europe* (The Alps). By Leslie Stephen. With 4 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.* net.

THREE IN NORWAY. By Two of Them. With a Map and 59 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* boards, 2*s.* 6*d.* cloth.

Tyndall.—*The Glaciers of the Alps:* being a Narrative of Excursions and Ascents. An Account of the Origin and Phenomena of Glaciers, and an Exposition of the Physical Principles to which they are related. By John Tyndall, F.R.S. With 6 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.* 6*d.* net.

Vivian.—*Servia:* the Poor Man's Paradise. By Herbert Vivian, M.A., Officer of the Royal Order of Takovo. With Map and Portrait of King Alexander. 8vo., 15*s.*

Veterinary Medicine, &c.

Steel (John Henry, F.R.C.V.S., F.Z.S., A.V.D.), late Professor of Veterinary Science and Principal of Bombay Veterinary College.

A Treatise on the Diseases of the Dog; being a Manual of Canine Pathology. Especially adapted for the use of Veterinary Practitioners and Students. With 88 Illustrations. 8vo., 10*s*. 6*d*.

A Treatise on the Diseases of the Ox; being a Manual of Bovine Pathology. Especially adapted for the use of Veterinary Practitioners and Students. With 2 Plates and 117 Woodcuts. 8vo., 15*s*.

A Treatise on the Diseases of the Sheep; being a Manual of Ovine Pathology for the use of Veterinary Practitioners and Students. With Coloured Plate and 99 Woodcuts. 8vo., 12*s*.

Outlines of Equine Anatomy: a Manual for the use of Veterinary Students in the Dissecting Room. Cr. 8vo., 7*s*. 6*d*.

Fitzwygram. — *Horses and Stables.* By Major-General Sir F. Fitzwygram, Bart. With 56 pages of Illustrations. 8vo., 2*s*. 6*d*. net.

Schreiner. — *The Angora Goat* (published under the auspices of the South African Angora Goat Breeders' Association), and a Paper on the Ostrich (reprinted from the *Zoologist* for March, 1897). By S. C. Cronwright Schreiner. 8vo.

'Stonehenge.' — *The Dog in Health and Disease.* By 'Stonehenge'. With 78 Wood Engravings. 8vo., 7*s*. 6*d*.

Youatt (William).

The Horse. Revised and Enlarged by W. Watson, M.R.C.V.S. With 52 Wood Engravings. 8vo., 7*s*. 6*d*.

The Dog. Revised and Enlarged. With 33 Wood Engravings. 8vo., 6*s*.

Sport and Pastime.

THE BADMINTON LIBRARY.

Edited by HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT, K.G., and A. E. T. WATSON.

Complete in 28 Volumes. Crown 8vo., Price 10*s*. 6*d*. each Volume, Cloth.

⁂ *The Volumes are also issued half-bound in Leather, with gilt top. The price can be had from all Booksellers.*

ARCHERY. By C. J. Longman and Col. H. Walrond. With Contributions by Miss Legh, Viscount Dillon, etc. With 2 Maps, 23 Plates and 172 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s*. 6*d*.

ATHLETICS AND FOOTBALL. By Montague Shearman. With 6 Plates and 52 Illust. in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 10*s*. 6*d*.

BIG GAME SHOOTING. By Clive Phillipps-Wolley.

Vol. I. AFRICA AND AMERICA. With Contributions by Sir Samuel W. Baker, W. C. Oswell, F. C. Selous, etc. With 20 Plates and 57 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s*. 6*d*.

Vol. II. EUROPE, ASIA, AND THE ARCTIC REGIONS. With Contributions by Lieut.-Colonel R. Heber Percy, Major Algernon C. Heber Percy, etc. With 17 Plates and 56 Illustrations in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 10*s*. 6*d*.

BILLIARDS. By Major W. Broadfoot, R.E. With Contributions by A. H. Boyd, Sydenham Dixon, W. J. Ford, etc. With 11 Plates, 19 Illustrations in the Text, and numerous Diagrams. Cr. 8vo., 10*s*. 6*d*.

BOATING. By W. B. Woodgate. With 10 Plates, 39 Illustrations in the Text, and 4 Maps of Rowing Courses. Cr. 8vo., 10*s*. 6*d*.

COURSING AND FALCONRY. By Harding Cox and the Hon. Gerald Lascelles. With 20 Plates and 56 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s*. 6*d*.

CRICKET. By A. G. Steel and the Hon. R. H. Lyttelton. With Contributions by Andrew Lang, W. G. Grace, F. Gale, etc. With 12 Plates and 52 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s*. 6*d*.

CYCLING. By the Earl of Albemarle and G. Lacy Hillier. With 19 Plates and 44 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s*. 6*d*.

DANCING. By Mrs. Lilly Grove, F.R.G.S. With Contributions by Miss Middleton, The Hon. Mrs. Armytage, etc. With Musical Examples, and 38 Full-page Plates and 93 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s*. 6*d*.

DRIVING. By His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, K.G. With Contributions by A. E. T. Watson the Earl of Onslow, etc. With 12 Plates and 54 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s*. 6*d*.

Sport and Pastime—*continued.*

THE BADMINTON LIBRARY—*continued.*

FENCING, BOXING, AND WRESTLING. By Walter H. Pollock, F. C. Grove, C. Prevost, E. B. Mitchell, and Walter Armstrong. With 18 Plates and 24 Illust. in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

FISHING. By H. Cholmondeley-Pennell.

Vol. I. SALMON AND TROUT. With Contributions by H. R. Francis, Major John P. Traherne, etc. With 9 Plates and numerous Illustrations of Tackle, etc. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Vol. II. PIKE AND OTHER COARSE FISH. With Contributions by the Marquis of Exeter, William Senior, G. Christopher Davis, etc. With 7 Plates and numerous Illustrations of Tackle, etc. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

GOLF. By Horace G. Hutchinson. With Contributions by the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P., Sir Walter Simpson, Bart., Andrew Lang, etc. With 25 Plates and 65 Illustrations in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

HUNTING. By His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, K.G., and Mowbray Morris. With Contributions by the Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, Rev. E. W. L. Davies, G. H. Longman, etc. With 5 Plates and 54 Illustrations in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

MOUNTAINEERING. By C. T. Dent. With Contributions by Sir W. M. Conway, D. W. Freshfield, C. E. Matthews, etc. With 13 Plates and 95 Illustrations in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

POETRY OF SPORT (THE).—Selected by Hedley Peek. With a Chapter on Classical Allusions to Sport by Andrew Lang, and a Special Preface to the BADMINTON LIBRARY by A. E. T. Watson. With 32 Plates and 74 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

RACING AND STEEPLE-CHASING. By the Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, W. G. Craven, the Hon. F. Lawley, Arthur Coventry, and A. E. T. Watson. With Frontispiece and 56 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

RIDING AND POLO. By Captain Robert Weir, The Duke of Beaufort, The Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, The Earl of Onslow, etc. With 18 Plates and 41 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

SEA FISHING. By John Bickerdyke, Sir H. W. Gore-Booth, Alfred C. Harmsworth, and W. Senior. With 22 Full-page Plates and 175 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

SHOOTING.

Vol. I. FIELD AND COVERT. By Lord Walsingham and Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey, Bart. With Contributions by the Hon. Gerald Lascelles and A. J. Stuart-Wortley. With 11 Plates and 94 Illusts. in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Vol. II. MOOR AND MARSH. By Lord Walsingham and Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey, Bart. With Contributions by Lord Lovat and Lord Charles Lennox Kerr. With 8 Plates and 57 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

SKATING, CURLING, TOBOGGANING. By J. M. Heathcote, C. G. Tebbutt, T. Maxwell Witham, Rev. John Kerr, Ormond Hake, Henry A. Buck, etc. With 12 Plates and 272 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

SWIMMING. By Archibald Sinclair and William Henry, Hon. Secs. of the Life-Saving Society. With 13 Plates and 106 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

TENNIS, LAWN TENNIS, RACKETS AND FIVES. By J. M. and C. G. Heathcote, E. O. Pleydell-Bouverie, and A.C. Ainger. With Contributions by the Hon. A. Lyttelton, W. C. Marshall, Miss L. Dod, etc. With 12 Plates and 67 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

YACHTING.

Vol. I. CRUISING, CONSTRUCTION OF YACHTS, YACHT RACING RULES, FITTING-OUT, etc. By Sir Edward Sullivan, Bart., The Earl of Pembroke, Lord Brassey, K.C.B., C. E. Seth-Smith, C.B., G. L. Watson, R. T. Pritchett, E. F. Knight, etc. With 21 Plates and 93 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Vol. II. YACHT CLUBS, YACHTING IN AMERICA AND THE COLONIES, YACHT RACING, etc. By R. T. Pritchett, The Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, K.P., The Earl of Onslow, James McFerran, etc. With 35 Plates and 160 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Sport and Pastime—*continued.*

FUR, FEATHER, AND FIN SERIES.

Edited by A. E. T. Watson.

Crown 8vo., price 5*s.* each Volume, cloth.

*** *The Volumes are also issued half-bound in Leather, with gilt top. The price can be had from all Booksellers.*

THE PARTRIDGE. Natural History, by the Rev. H. A. Macpherson; Shooting, by A. J. Stuart-Wortley; Cookery, by George Saintsbury. With 11 Illustrations and various Diagrams in the Text. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

THE GROUSE. Natural History, by the Rev. H. A. Macpherson; Shooting, by A. J. Stuart-Wortley; Cookery, by George Saintsbury. With 13 Illustrations and various Diagrams in the Text. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

THE PHEASANT. Natural History, by the Rev. H. A. Macpherson; Shooting, by A. J. Stuart-Wortley; Cookery, by Alexander Innes Shand. With 10 Illustrations and various Diagrams. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

THE HARE. Natural History, by the Rev. H. A. Macpherson; Shooting, by the Hon. Gerald Lascelles; Coursing, by Charles Richardson; Hunting, by J. S. Gibbons and G. H. Longman; Cookery, by Col. Kenney Herbert. With 9 Illustrations. Crown 8vo, 5*s.*

RED DEER.—Natural History, by the Rev. H. A. Macpherson; Deer Stalking, by Cameron of Lochiel; Stag Hunting, by Viscount Ebrington; Cookery, by Alexander Innes Shand. With 10 Illustrations by J. Charlton and A. Thorburn. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

THE SALMON. By the Hon. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy, etc. With Illustrations, etc. [*In the press.*

THE TROUT. By the Marquis of Granby, etc. With Illustrations, etc. [*In preparation.*

THE RABBIT. By J. E. Harting, etc. With Illustrations. [*In preparation.*

WILDFOWL. By the Hon. John Scott Montagu, etc. With Illustrations, etc. [*In preparation.*

André.—*Colonel Bogey's Sketch-Book.* Comprising an Eccentric Collection of Scribbles and Scratches found in disused Lockers and swept up in the Pavilion, together with sundry After-Dinner Sayings of the Colonel. By R. André, West Herts Golf Club. Oblong 4to., 2*s.* 6*d.*

BADMINTON MAGAZINE (*The*) *of Sports and Pastimes.* Edited by Alfred E. T. Watson ("Rapier"). With numerous Illustrations. Price 1*s.* monthly.

Vols. I.-V. 6*s.* each.

DEAD SHOT (*The*): or, Sportsman's Complete Guide. Being a Treatise on the Use of the Gun, with Rudimentary and Finishing Lessons in the Art of Shooting Game of all kinds. Also Game-driving, Wildfowl and Pigeon-shooting, Dog-breaking, etc. By Marksman. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Ellis.—*Chess Sparks*; or, Short and Bright Games of Chess. Collected and Arranged by J. H. Ellis, M.A. 8vo., 4*s.* 6*d.*

Folkard.—*The Wild-Fowler*: A Treatise on Fowling, Ancient and Modern, descriptive also of Decoys and Flight-ponds, Wild-fowl Shooting, Gunning-punts, Shooting-yachts, etc. Also Fowling in the Fens and in Foreign Countries, Rock-fowling, etc., etc., by H. C. Folkard. With 13 Engravings on Steel, and several Woodcuts. 8vo., 12*s.* 6*d.*

Ford.—*The Theory and Practice of Archery.* By Horace Ford. New Edition, thoroughly Revised and Re-written by W. Butt, M.A. With a Preface by C. J. Longman, M.A. 8vo., 14*s.*

Francis.—*A Book on Angling*: or, Treatise on the Art of Fishing in every Branch; including full Illustrated List of Salmon Flies. By Francis Francis. With Portrait and Coloured Plates. Crown 8vo., 15*s.*

Sport and Pastime—*continued.*

Gibson.—*Tobogganing on Crooked Runs.* By the Hon. Harry Gibson. With Contributions by F. de B. Strickland and 'Lady-Toboganner'. With 40 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Graham.—*Country Pastimes for Boys.* By P. Anderson Graham. With 252 Illustrations from Drawings and Photographs. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Lang.—*Angling Sketches.* By Andrew Lang. With 20 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Lillie.—*Croquet:* its History, Rules and Secrets. By Arthur Lillie, Champion, Grand National Croquet Club, 1872; Winner of the 'All-Comers' Championship,' Maidstone, 1896. With 4 Full-page Illustrations by Lucien Davis, 15 Illustrations in the Text, and 27 Diagrams. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Longman.—*Chess Openings.* By Frederick W. Longman. Fcp. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Madden.—*The Diary of Master William Silence:* a Study of Shakespeare and of Elizabethan Sport. By the Right Hon. D. H. Madden, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin. 8vo., 16*s.*

Maskelyne.—*Sharps and Flats:* a Complete Revelation of the Secrets of Cheating at Games of Chance and Skill. By John Nevil Maskelyne, of the Egyptian Hall. With 62 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Moffat.—*Crickety Cricket:* Rhymes and Parodies. By Douglas Moffat, with Frontispiece by Sir Frank Lockwood, Q.C., M.P., and 53 Illustrations by the Author. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Park.—*The Game of Golf.* By William Park, Jun., Champion Golfer, 1887-89. With 17 Plates and 26 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Payne-Gallwey (Sir Ralph, Bart.).

Letters to Young Shooters (First Series). On the Choice and use of a Gun. With 41 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Letters to Young Shooters (Second Series). On the Production, Preservation, and Killing of Game. With Directions in Shooting Wood-Pigeons and Breaking-in Retrievers. With Portrait and 103 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 12*s.* 6*d.*

Payne-Gallwey (Sir Ralph, Bart.)—*continued.*

Letters to Young Shooters. (Third Series.) Comprising a Short Natural History of the Wildfowl that are Rare or Common to the British Islands, with complete directions in Shooting Wildfowl on the Coast and Inland. With 200 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 18*s.*

Pole (William).

The Theory of the Modern Scientific Game of Whist. Fcp. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Evolution of Whist: a Study of the Progressive Changes which the Game has undergone. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Proctor.—*How to Play Whist: with the Laws and Etiquette of Whist.* By Richard A. Proctor. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Ribblesdale.—*The Queen's Hounds and Stag-Hunting Recollections.* By Lord Ribblesdale, Master of the Buckhounds, 1892-95. With Introductory Chapter on the Hereditary Mastership by E. Burrows. With 24 Plates and 35 Illustrations in the Text. 8vo., 25*s.*

Ronalds.—*The Fly-Fisher's Entomology.* By Alfred Ronalds. With 20 coloured Plates. 8vo., 14*s.*

Thompson and Cannan. *Hand-in-Hand Figure Skating.* By Norcliffe G. Thompson and F. Laura Cannan, Members of the Skating Club. With an Introduction by Captain J. H. Thomson, R.A. With Illustrations and Diagrams. 16mo., 6*s.*

Watson.—*Racing and 'Chasing:* a Collection of Sporting Stories. By Alfred E. T. Watson, Editor of the 'Badminton Magazine'. With 16 Plates and 36 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Wilcocks.—*The Sea Fisherman:* Comprising the Chief Methods of Hook and Line Fishing in the British and other Seas, and Remarks on Nets, Boats, and Boating. By J. C. Wilcocks. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo., 6*s.*

Mental, Moral, and Political Philosophy.

LOGIC, RHETORIC, PSYCHOLOGY, &C.

Abbott.—*The Elements of Logic.* By T. K. Abbott, B.D. 12mo., 3*s.*

Aristotle.

The Ethics: Greek Text, Illustrated with Essay and Notes. By Sir Alexander Grant, Bart. 2 vols. 8vo., 32*s.*

An Introduction to Aristotle's Ethics. Books I.-IV. (Book X. c. vi.-ix. in an Appendix). With a continuous Analysis and Notes. By the Rev. E. Moore, D.D. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Bacon (Francis).

Complete Works. Edited by R. L. Ellis, James Spedding and D. D. Heath. 7 vols. 8vo., £3 13*s.* 6*d.*

Letters and Life, including all his occasional Works. Edited by James Spedding. 7 vols. 8vo., £4 4*s.*

The Essays: with Annotations. By Richard Whately, D.D. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Essays: with Notes. By F. Storr and C. H. Gibson. Cr. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Essays: with Introduction, Notes, and Index. By E. A. Abbott, D.D. 2 Vols. Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.* The Text and Index only, without Introduction and Notes, in One Volume. Fcp. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Bain (Alexander).

Mental Science. Cr. 8vo., 6*s.* 6*d.*

Moral Science. Cr. 8vo., 4*s.* 6*d.*

The two works as above can be had in one volume, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

Senses and the Intellect. 8vo., 15*s.*

Emotions and the Will. 8vo., 15*s.*

Logic, Deductive and Inductive. Part I. 4*s.* Part II. 6*s.* 6*d.*

Practical Essays. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.*

Baldwin.—*The Elements of Expository Construction.* By Dr. Charles Sears Baldwin, Instructor in Rhetoric in Yale University.

Bray.—*The Philosophy of Necessity:* or, Law in Mind as in Matter. By Charles Bray. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Crozier (John Beattie).

Civilisation and Progress: being the Outlines of a New System of Political, Religious and Social Philosophy. 8vo., 14*s.*

History of Intellectual Development: on the Lines of Modern Evolution.

Vol. I. Greek and Hindoo Thought; Græco-Roman Paganism; Judaism; and Christianity down to the Closing of the Schools of Athens by Justinian, 529 A.D. 8vo., 14*s.*

Davidson.—*The Logic of Definition*, Explained and Applied. By William L. Davidson, M.A. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Green (Thomas Hill).—The Works of. Edited by R. L. Nettleship.

Vols. I. and II. Philosophical Works. 8vo., 16*s.* each.

Vol. III. Miscellanies. With Index to the three Volumes, and Memoir. 8vo., 21*s.*

Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation. With Preface by Bernard Bosanquet. 8vo., 5*s.*

Hodgson (Shadworth H.).

Time and Space: A Metaphysical Essay. 8vo., 16*s.*

The Theory of Practice: an Ethical Inquiry. 2 vols. 8vo., 24*s.*

The Philosophy of Reflection. 2 vols. 8vo., 21*s.*

The Metaphysic of Experience. Book I. General Analysis of Experience; Book II. Positive Science; Book III. Analysis of Conscious Action; Book IV. The Real Universe. 4 vols. 8vo.

Hume.—*The Philosophical Works of David Hume.* Edited by T. H. Green and T. H. Grose. 4 vols. 8vo., 56*s.* Or separately, Essays. 2 vols. 28*s.* Treatise of Human Nature. 2 vols. 28*s.*

James.—*The Will to Believe*, and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy. By William James, M.D., LL.D., etc. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Justinian.—*The Institutes of Justinian:* Latin Text, chiefly that of Huschke, with English Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Summary. By Thomas C. Sandars, M.A. 8vo., 18*s.*

Kant (Immanuel).

Critique of Practical Reason, and Other Works on the Theory of Ethics. Translated by T. K. Abbott, B.D. With Memoir. 8vo., 12*s.* 6*d.*

Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Ethics. Translated by T. K. Abbott, B.D. Crown 8vo, 3*s.*

Introduction to Logic, and his Essay on the Mistaken Subtilty of the Four Figures.. Translated by T. K. Abbott. 8vo., 6*s.*

Mental, Moral and Political Philosophy—*continued.*

LOGIC, RHETORIC, PSYCHOLOGY, &C.

Killick.—*Handbook to Mill's System of Logic.* By Rev. A. H. Killick, M.A. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Ladd (George Trumbull).

Philosophy of Knowledge: an Inquiry into the Nature, Limits and Validity of Human Cognitive Faculty. 8vo., 18*s.*

Philosophy of Mind: An Essay on the Metaphysics of Psychology. 8vo., 16*s.*

Elements of Physiological Psychology. 8vo., 21*s.*

Outlines of Physiological Psychology. 8vo., 12*s.*

Psychology, Descriptive and Explanatory. 8vo., 21*s.*

Primer of Psychology. Cr. 8vo., 5*s.* 6*d.*

Lewes.—*The History of Philosophy*, from Thales to Comte. By George Henry Lewes. 2 vols. 8vo., 32*s.*

Lutoslawski.—*The Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic.* With an Account of Plato's Style and of the Chronology of his Writings. By Wincenty Lutoslawski. 8vo., 21*s.*

Max Müller (F.).

The Science of Thought. 8vo., 21*s.*

Three Introductory Lectures on the Science of Thought. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Mill.—*Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind.* By James Mill. 2 vols. 8vo., 28*s.*

Mill (John Stuart).

A System of Logic. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

On Liberty. Crown 8vo., 1*s.* 4*d.*

Considerations on Representative Government. Crown 8vo., 2*s.*

Utilitarianism. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy. 8vo., 16*s.*

Nature, the Utility of Religion, and Theism. Three Essays. 8vo., 5*s.*

Monck. — *An Introduction to Logic.* By William Henry S. Monck, M.A. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Romanes.—*Mind and Motion and Monism.* By George John Romanes, LL.D., F.R.S. Cr. 8vo., 4*s.* 6*d.*

Stock (St. George).

Deductive Logic. Fcp. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Lectures in the Lyceum; or, Aristotle's Ethics for English Readers. Edited by St. George Stock. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Sully (James).

The Human Mind: a Text-book of Psychology. 2 vols. 8vo., 21*s.*

Outlines of Psychology. 8vo., 9*s.*

The Teacher's Handbook of Psychology. Crown 8vo., 6*s.* 6*d.*

Studies of Childhood. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Children's Ways: being Selections from the Author's 'Studies of Childhood'. With 25 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 4*s.* 6*d.*

Sutherland. — *The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct.* By Alexander Sutherland, M.A.

Swinburne. — *Picture Logic*: an Attempt to Popularise the Science of Reasoning. By Alfred James Swinburne, M.A. With 23 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Webb.—*The Veil of Isis*: a Series of Essays on Idealism. By Thomas E. Webb, LL.D., Q.C. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Weber.—*History of Philosophy.* By Alfred Weber, Professor in the University of Strasburg. Translated by Frank Thilly, Ph.D. 8vo., 16*s.*

Whately (Archbishop).

Bacon's Essays. With Annotations. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Elements of Logic. Cr. 8vo., 4*s.* 6*d.*

Elements of Rhetoric. Cr. 8vo., 4*s.* 6*d.*

Lessons on Reasoning. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

Zeller (Dr. Edward).

The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics. Translated by the Rev. O. J. Reichel, M.A. Crown 8vo., 15*s.*

Outlines of the History of Greek Philosophy. Translated by Sarah F. Alleyne and Evelyn Abbott, M.A., LL.D. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Plato and the Older Academy Translated by Sarah F. Alleyne and Alfred Goodwin, B.A. Crown 8vo., 18*s.*

Socrates and the Socratic Schools. Translated by the Rev. O. J. Reichel, M.A. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Aristotle and the Earlier Peripatetics. Translated by B. F. C. Costelloe, M.A., and J. H. Muirhead, M.A. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 24*s.*

Mental, Moral, and Political Philosophy—*continued.*

MANUALS OF CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHY.

(Stonyhurst Series.)

A MANUAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. By C. S. DEVAS, M.A. Crown 8vo., 6*s.* 6*d.*

FIRST PRINCIPLES OF KNOWLEDGE. By JOHN RICKABY, S.J. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

GENERAL METAPHYSICS. By JOHN RICKABY, S.J. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

LOGIC. By RICHARD F. CLARKE, S.J. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

MORAL PHILOSOPHY (ETHICS AND NATURAL LAW). By JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

NATURAL THEOLOGY. By BERNARD BOEDDER, S.J. Crown 8vo., 6*s.* 6*d.*

PSYCHOLOGY. By MICHAEL MAHER, S.J. Crown 8vo., 6*s.* 6*d.*

History and Science of Language, &c.

Davidson.—*LEADING AND IMPORTANT ENGLISH WORDS:* Explained and Exemplified. By WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON, M.A. Fcp. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Farrar.—*LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGES:* By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Graham. — *ENGLISH SYNONYMS,* Classified and Explained: with Practical Exercises. By G. F. GRAHAM. Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.*

Max Müller (F.).

THE SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE.—Founded on Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution in 1861 and 1863. 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 21*s.*

Max Müller (F.)—*continued.*

BIOGRAPHIES OF WORDS, AND THE HOME OF THE ARYAS. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

THREE LECTURES ON THE SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE, AND ITS PLACE IN GENERAL EDUCATION, delivered at Oxford, 1889. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* net.

Roget.—*THESAURUS OF ENGLISH WORDS AND PHRASES.* Classified and Arranged so as to Facilitate the Expression of Ideas and assist in Literary Composition. By PETER MARK ROGET, M.D., F.R.S. With full Index. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Whately.—*ENGLISH SYNONYMS.* By E. JANE WHATELY. Fcp. 8vo., 3*s.*

Political Economy and Economics.

Ashley.—*ENGLISH ECONOMIC HISTORY AND THEORY.* By W. J. ASHLEY, M.A. Crown 8vo., Part I., 5*s.* Part II., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Bagehot.—*ECONOMIC STUDIES.* By WALTER BAGEHOT. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Barnett.—*PRACTICABLE SOCIALISM.* Essays on Social Reform. By the Rev. S. A. BARNETT, M.A., Canon of Bristol, and MRS. BARNETT. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Brassey.—*PAPERS AND ADDRESSES ON WORK AND WAGES.* By Lord BRASSEY. Edited by J. POTTER, and with Introduction by GEORGE HOWELL, M.P. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Channing.— *THE TRUTH ABOUT AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION:* an Economic Study of the Evidence of the Royal Commission. By FRANCIS ALLSTON CHANNING, M.P., one of the Commission. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Devas.—*A MANUAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.* By C. S. DEVAS, M.A. Cr. 8vo., 6*s.* 6*d.* (*Manuals of Catholic Philosophy.*)

Dowell.—*A HISTORY OF TAXATION AND TAXES IN ENGLAND,* from the Earliest Times to the Year 1885. By STEPHEN DOWELL, (4 vols. 8vo). Vols. I. and II. The History of Taxation, 21*s.* Vols. III. and IV. The History of Taxes, 21*s.*

Jordan.—*THE STANDARD OF VALUE.* By WILLIAM LEIGHTON JORDAN. Cr. 8vo., 6*s.*

Leslie.—*ESSAYS ON POLITICAL ECONOMY.* By T. E. CLIFFE LESLIE, Hon. LL.D., Dubl. 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Macleod (HENRY DUNNING).

BIMETALISM. 8vo., 5*s.* net.

THE ELEMENTS OF BANKING. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF BANKING. Vol. I. 8vo., 12*s.* Vol. II. 14*s.*

THE THEORY OF CREDIT. 8vo. In 1 Vol., 30*s.* net; or separately, Vol. I., 10*s.* net. Vol. II., Part I., 10*s.* net. Vol. II., Part II., 10*s.* net.

A DIGEST OF THE LAW OF BILLS OF EXCHANGE, BANK-NOTES, &c. 8vo., 5*s.* net.

THE BANKING SYSTEM OF ENGLAND. [*In preparation.*

Political Economy and Economics—*continued.*

Mill.—*Political Economy.* By John Stuart Mill.
Popular Edition. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*
Library Edition. 2 vols. 8vo., 30*s.*

Mulhall.—*Industries and Wealth of Nations.* By Michael G. Mulhall, F.S.S. With 32 full-page Diagrams. Crown 8vo., 8*s.* 6*d.*

Soderini.—*Socialism and Catholicism.* From the Italian of Count Edward Soderini. By Richard Jenery-Shee. With a Preface by Cardinal Vaughan. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Symes.—*Political Economy:* a Short Text-book of Political Economy. With Problems for Solution, and Hints for Supplementary Reading; also a Supplementary Chapter on Socialism. By Professor J. E. Symes, M.A., of University College, Nottingham. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Toynbee.—*Lectures on the Industrial Revolution of the 18th Century in England:* Popular Addresses, Notes and other Fragments. By Arnold Toynbee. With a Memoir of the Author by Benjamin Jowett, D.D. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Vincent.—*The Land Question in North Wales:* being a Brief Survey of the History, Origin, and Character of the Agrarian Agitation, and of the Nature and Effect of the Proceedings of the Welsh Land Commission. By J. E. Vincent. 8vo., 5*s.*

Webb (Sidney and Beatrice).
The History of Trade Unionism. With Map and full Bibliography of the Subject. 8vo., 18*s.*
Industrial Democracy: a Study in Trade Unionism. 2 vols. 8vo., 25*s.* net.

STUDIES IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

Issued under the auspices of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

The History of Local Rates in England: Five Lectures. By Edwin Cannan, M.A. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

German Social Democracy. By Bertrand Russell, B.A. With an Appendix on Social Democracy and the Woman Question in Germany by Alys Russell, B.A. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Select Documents Illustrating the History of Trade Unionism.
1. The Tailoring Trade. Edited by W. F. Galton. With a Preface by Sidney Webb, LL.B. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Deploige's Referendum en Suisse. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by C. P. Trevelyan, M.A. [*In preparation.*

Select Documents Illustrating the State Regulation of Wages. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by W. A. S. Hewins, M.A. [*In preparation.*

Hungarian Gild Records. Edited by Dr. Julius Mandello, of Budapest. [*In preparation.*

The Relations between England and the Hanseatic League. By Miss E. A. MacArthur. [*In preparation.*

Evolution, Anthropology, &c.

Clodd (Edward).

The Story of Creation: a Plain Account of Evolution. With 77 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

A Primer of Evolution: being a Popular Abridged Edition of 'The Story of Creation'. With Illustrations. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

Lang.—*Custom and Myth:* Studies of Early Usage and Belief. By Andrew Lang. With 15 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Lubbock.—*The Origin of Civilisation,* and the Primitive Condition of Man. By Sir J. Lubbock, Bart., M.P. With 5 Plates and 20 Illustrations in the Text. 8vo., 18*s.*

Romanes (George John).

Darwin, and after Darwin: an Exposition of the Darwinian Theory, and a Discussion on Post-Darwinian Questions.
Part I. The Darwinian Theory. With Portrait of Darwin and 125 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*
Part II. Post-Darwinian Questions: Heredity and Utility. With Portrait of the Author and 5 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*
Part III. Post-Darwinian Questions: Isolation and Physiological Selection. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

An Examination of Weismannism. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Essays. Edited by C. Lloyd Morgan, Principal of University College, Bristol. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Classical Literature, Translations, &c.

Abbott.—*HELLENICA.* A Collection of Essays on Greek Poetry, Philosophy, History, and Religion. Edited by EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A., LL.D. 8vo., 16*s.*

Æschylus.—*EUMENIDES OF ÆSCHYLUS.* With Metrical English Translation. By J. F. DAVIES. 8vo., 7*s.*

Aristophanes. — *THE ACHARNIANS OF ARISTOPHANES*, translated into English Verse. By R. Y. TYRRELL. Crown 8vo., 1*s.*

Aristotle.— *YOUTH AND OLD AGE, LIFE AND DEATH, AND RESPIRATION.* Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by W. OGLE, M.A., M.D. 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Becker (W. A.), Translated by the Rev. F. METCALFE, B.D.

GALLUS: or, Roman Scenes in the Time of Augustus. With Notes and Excursuses. With 26 Illustrations. Post 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

CHARICLES: or, Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks. With Notes and Excursuses. With 26 Illustrations. Post 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Butler.—*THE AUTHORESS OF THE ODYSSEY, WHERE AND WHEN SHE WROTE, WHO SHE WAS, THE USE SHE MADE OF THE ILIAD, AND HOW THE POEM GREW UNDER HER HANDS.* By SAMUEL BUTLER, Author of 'Erewhon,' etc. With Illustrations and 4 Maps. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Cicero.—*CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.* By R. Y. TYRRELL. Vols. I., II., III., 8vo., each 12*s.* Vol. IV., 15*s.* Vol. V., 14*s.*

Egbert.—*INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF LATIN INSCRIPTIONS.* By JAMES C. EGBERT, Junr., Ph.D. With numerous Illustrations and Facsimiles. Square crown 8vo., 16*s.*

Horace.—*THE WORKS OF HORACE, RENDERED INTO ENGLISH PROSE.* With Life, Introduction and Notes. By WILLIAM COUTTS, M.A. Crown 8vo., 5*s.* net.

Lang.—*HOMER AND THE EPIC.* By ANDREW LANG. Crown 8vo., 9*s.* net.

Lucan.—*THE PHARSALIA OF LUCAN.* Translated into Blank Verse. By Sir EDWARD RIDLEY. 8vo., 14*s.*

Mackail.—*SELECT EPIGRAMS FROM THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY.* By J. W. MACKAIL. Edited with a Revised Text, Introduction, Translation, and Notes. 8vo., 16*s.*

Rich.—*A DICTIONARY OF ROMAN AND GREEK ANTIQUITIES.* By A. RICH, B.A. With 2000 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Sophocles.—Translated into English Verse. By ROBERT WHITELAW, M.A., Assistant Master in Rugby School. Cr. 8vo., 8*s.* 6*d.*

Tacitus. — *THE HISTORY OF P. CORNELIUS TACITUS.* Translated into English, with an Introduction and Notes, Critical and Explanatory, by ALBERT WILLIAM QUILL, M.A., T.C.D. 2 vols. Vol. I. 8vo., 7*s.* 6d. Vol. II. 8vo., 12*s.* 6*d.*

Tyrrell. — *DUBLIN TRANSLATIONS INTO GREEK AND LATIN VERSE.* Edited by R. Y. TYRRELL. 8vo., 6*s.*

Virgil.

THE ÆNEID OF VIRGIL. Translated into English Verse by JOHN CONINGTON. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

THE POEMS OF VIRGIL. Translated into English Prose by JOHN CONINGTON. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

THE ÆNEID OF VIRGIL, freely translated into English Blank Verse. By W. J. THORNHILL. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE ÆNEID OF VIRGIL. Translated into English Verse by JAMES RHOADES.
Books I.-VI. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*
Books VII.-XII. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Wilkins.—*THE GROWTH OF THE HOMERIC POEMS.* By G. WILKINS. 8vo., 6*s.*

Poetry and the Drama.

Allingham (WILLIAM).

IRISH SONGS AND POEMS. With Frontispiece of the Waterfall of Asaroe. Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.*

LAURENCE BLOOMFIELD. With Portrait of the Author. Fcp. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

FLOWER PIECES; DAY AND NIGHT SONGS; BALLADS. With 2 Designs by D. G. ROSSETTI. Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.* large paper edition, 12*s.*

Allingham (WILLIAM)—*continued.*

LIFE AND PHANTASY: with Frontispiece by Sir J. E. MILLAIS, Bart., and Design by ARTHUR HUGHES. Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.*; large paper edition, 12*s.*

THOUGHT AND WORD, AND ASHBY MANOR: a Play. Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.*; large paper edition, 12*s.*

BLACKBERRIES. Imperial 16mo., 6*s.*

Sets of the above 6 *vols. may be had in uniform Half-parchment binding, price* 30*s.*

Poetry and the Drama—*continued.*

Armstrong (G. F. Savage).

Poems: Lyrical and Dramatic. Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.*

King Saul. (The Tragedy of Israel, Part I.) Fcp. 8vo., 5*s.*

King David. (The Tragedy of Israel, Part II.) Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.*

King Solomon. (The Tragedy of Israel, Part III.) Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.*

Ugone: a Tragedy. Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.*

A Garland from Greece: Poems. Fcp. 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Stories of Wicklow: Poems. Fcp. 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Mephistopheles in Broadcloth: a Satire. Fcp. 8vo., 4*s.*

One in the Infinite: a Poem. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Armstrong.—*The Poetical Works of Edmund J. Armstrong.* Fcp. 8vo., 5*s.*

Arnold.—*The Light of the World:* or, The Great Consummation. By Sir Edwin Arnold. With 14 Illustrations after Holman Hunt. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Beesly (A. H.).

Ballads and other Verse. Fcp. 8vo., 5*s.*

Danton, and other Verse. Fcp. 8vo., 4*s.* 6*d.*

Bell (Mrs. Hugh).

Chamber Comedies: a Collection of Plays and Monologues for the Drawing Room. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Fairy Tale Plays, and How to Act Them. With 91 Diagrams and 52 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Cochrane (Alfred).

The Kestrel's Nest, and other Verses. Fcp. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Leviore Plectro: Occasional Verses. Fcap. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Douglas.—*Poems of a Country Gentleman.* By Sir George Douglas, Bart., Author of 'The Fireside Tragedy'. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Goethe.

Faust, Part I., the German Text, with Introduction and Notes. By Albert M. Selss, Ph.D., M.A. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

The First Part of the Tragedy of Faust in English. By Thos. E. Webb, LL.D., sometime Fellow of Trinity College; Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin, etc. New and Cheaper Edition, with *The Death of Faust,* from the Second Part. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Gurney (Rev. Alfred, M.A.).

Day-Dreams: Poems. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Love's Fruition, and other Poems.

Ingelow (Jean).

Poetical Works. Complete in One Volume. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Poetical Works. 2 vols. Fcp. 8vo., 12*s.*

Lyrical and other Poems. Selected from the Writings of Jean Ingelow. Fcp. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.* cloth plain, 3*s.* cloth gilt.

Lang (Andrew).

Grass of Parnassus. Fcp. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

The Blue Poetry Book. Edited by Andrew Lang. With 100 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Layard and Corder.—*Songs in Many Moods.* By Nina F. Layard; *The Wandering Albatross,* etc. By Annie Corder. In One Volume. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Lecky.—*Poems.* By the Right Hon. W. E. H. Lecky. Fcp. 8vo., 5*s.*

Lytton (The Earl of), (Owen Meredith).

Marah. Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.* 6*d.*

King Poppy: a Fantasia. With 1 Plate and Design on Title-Page by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Bart. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Wanderer. Cr. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Lucile. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Selected Poems. Cr. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Poetry and the Drama—*continued.*

Macaulay.—*Lays of Ancient Rome, etc.* By Lord Macaulay.
Illustrated by G. Scharf. Fcp. 4to., 10*s.* 6*d.*
——— Bijou Edition. 18mo., 2*s.* 6*d.* gilt top.
——— Popular Edition. Fcp. 4to., 6*d.* sewed, 1*s.* cloth.
Illustrated by J. R. Weguelin. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*
Annotated Edition. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* sewed, 1*s.* 6*d.* cloth.

Macdonald (George, LL.D.).

A Book of Strife, in the Form of the Diary of an Old Soul: Poems. 18mo., 6*s.*

Rampolli: Growths from a Long-planted Root: being Translations, New and Old (mainly in verse), chiefly from the German; along with 'A Year's Diary of an Old Soul'. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Moffat.—*Crickety Cricket:* Rhymes and Parodies. By Douglas Moffat. With Frontispiece by Sir Frank Lockwood, Q.C., M.P., and 53 Illustrations by the Author. Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Morris (William).

Poetical Works—Library Edition.
Complete in Ten Volumes. Crown 8vo., price 6*s.* each.

The Earthly Paradise. 4 vols. 6*s.* each.

The Life and Death of Jason. 6*s.*

The Defence of Guenevere, and other Poems. 6*s.*

The Story of Sigurd the Volsung, and The Fall of the Niblungs. 6*s.*

Love is Enough; or, the Freeing of Pharamond: A Morality; and *Poems by the Way.* 6*s.*

The Odyssey of Homer. Done into English Verse. 6*s.*

The Æneids of Virgil. Done into English Verse. 6*s.*

Certain of the Poetical Works may also be had in the following Editions:—

The Earthly Paradise.

Popular Edition. 5 vols. 12mo., 25*s.*; or 5*s.* each, sold separately.

The same in Ten Parts, 25*s.*; or 2*s.* 6*d.* each, sold separately.

Cheap Edition, in 1 vol. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Morris (William)—*continued.*

Poems by the Way. Square crown 8vo., 6*s.*

*** For Mr. William Morris's Prose Works, see pp. 22 and 31.

Nesbit.—*Lays and Legends.* By E. Nesbit (Mrs. Hubert Bland). First Series. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.* Second Series. With Portrait. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Riley (James Whitcomb).

Old Fashioned Roses: Poems. 12mo., 5*s.*

A Child-World: Poems. Fcp. 8vo., 5*s.*

Poems: Here at Home. 16mo, 6*s.* net.

Rubáiyát of Doc Sifers. With 43 Illustrations by C. M Relyea. Crown 8vo.

Romanes.—*A Selection from the Poems of George John Romanes, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.* With an Introduction by T. Herbert Warren, President of Magdalen College, Oxford. Crown 8vo., 4*s.* 6*d.*

Shakespeare.—*Bowdler's Family Shakespeare.* With 36 Woodcuts. 1 vol. 8vo., 14*s.* Or in 6 vols. Fcp. 8vo., 21*s.*

The Shakespeare Birthday Book. By Mary F. Dunbar. 32mo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

Tupper.—*Poems.* By John Lucas Tupper. Selected and Edited by William Michael Rossetti. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Wordsworth. — *Selected Poems.* By Andrew Lang. With Photogravure Frontispiece of Rydal Mount. With 16 Illustrations and numerous Initial Letters. By Alfred Parsons, A.R.A. Crown 8vo., gilt edges, 6*s.*

Wordsworth and Coleridge.—*A Description of the Wordsworth and Coleridge Manuscripts in the Possession of Mr. T. Norton Longman.* Edited, with Notes, by W. Hale White. With 3 Facsimile Reproductions. 4to., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Fiction, Humour, &c.

Allingham.—*Crooked Paths.* By Francis Allingham. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Anstey (F., Author of 'Vice Versâ').

Voces Populi. Reprinted from 'Punch'. First Series. With 20 Illustrations by J. Bernard Partridge. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Man from Blankley's: a Story in Scenes, and other Sketches. With 24 Illustrations by J. Bernard Partridge. Post 4to., 6*s.*

Astor.—*A Journey in other Worlds:* a Romance of the Future. By John Jacob Astor. With 10 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 6*s.*

Beaconsfield (The Earl of).

Novels and Tales. Complete in 11 vols. Crown 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.* each.

Vivian Grey.
The Young Duke, etc.
Alroy, Ixion, etc.
Contarini Fleming, etc.
Tancred.
Sybil.
Henrietta Temple.
Venetia.
Coningsby.
Lothair.
Endymion.

Novels and Tales. The Hughenden Edition. With 2 Portraits and 11 Vignettes. 11 vols. Crown 8vo., 42*s.*

Black.—*The Princess Désirée.* By Clementina Black. With 8 Illustrations by John Williamson. Cr. 8vo., 6*s.*

Crump.—*Wide Asunder as the Poles.* By Arthur Crump. Cr. 8vo., 6*s.*

Deland (Margaret).

Philip and His Wife. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Wisdom of Fools. Stories. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Diderot. — *Rameau's Nephew:* a Translation from Diderot's Autographic Text. By Sylvia Margaret Hill. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Dougall.—*Beggars All.* By L. Dougall. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Doyle (A. Conan).

Micah Clarke: A Tale of Monmouth's Rebellion. With 10 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Captain of the Polestar, and other Tales. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Refugees: A Tale of the Huguenots. With 25 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Stark Munro Letters. Cr. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Farrar (F. W., Dean of Canterbury).

Darkness and Dawn: or, Scenes in the Days of Nero. An Historic Tale. Cr. 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Gathering Clouds: a Tale of the Days of St. Chrysostom. Cr. 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Fowler (Edith H.).

The Young Pretenders. A Story of Child Life. With 12 Illustrations by Philip Burne-Jones. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

The Professor's Children. With 24 Illustrations by Ethel Kate Burgess. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Froude.—*The Two Chiefs of Dunboy:* an Irish Romance of the Last Century. By James A. Froude. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Gilkes.—*Kallistratus:* an Autobiography. A Story of Hannibal and the Second Punic War. By A. H. Gilkes, M.A., Master of Dulwich College. With 3 Illustrations by Maurice Greiffenhagen. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Graham.—*The Red Scaur:* A Story of the North Country. By P. Anderson Graham. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Gurdon.—*Memories and Fancies:* Suffolk Tales and other Stories; Fairy Legends; Poems; Miscellaneous Articles. By the late Lady Camilla Gurdon, Author of 'Suffolk Folk-Lore'. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Haggard (H. Rider).

Heart of the World. With 15 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Joan Haste. With 20 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The People of the Mist. With 16 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Montezuma's Daughter. With 24 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

She. With 32 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Allan Quatermain. With 31 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Maiwa's Revenge: Cr. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

Colonel Quaritch, V.C. With Frontispiece and Vignette. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Cleopatra. With 29 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Fiction, Humour, &c.—*continued.*

Haggard (H. Rider)—*continued.*

Beatrice. With Frontispiece and Vignette. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Eric Brighteyes. With 51 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Nada the Lily. With 23 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Allan's Wife. With 34 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Witch's Head. With 16 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Meeson's Will. With 16 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Dawn. With 16 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haggard and Lang.—*The World's Desire.* By H. Rider Haggard and Andrew Lang. With 27 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Harte.—*In the Carquinez Woods* and other stories. By Bret Harte. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Hope.—*The Heart of Princess Osra.* By Anthony Hope. With 9 Illustrations by John Williamson. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Hornung.—*The Unbidden Guest.* By E. W. Hornung. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Jerome.—*Sketches in Lavender: Blue and Green.* By Jerome K. Jerome, Author of 'Three Men in a Boat,' etc. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Lang.—*A Monk of Fife*; a Story of the Days of Joan of Arc. By Andrew Lang. With 13 Illustrations by Selwyn Image. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Levett-Yeats (S.).

The Chevalier D'Auriac. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

A Galahad of the Creeks, and other Stories. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Lyall (Edna).

The Autobiography of a Slander. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.*, sewed.

Presentation Edition. With 20 Illustrations by Lancelot Speed. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

The Autobiography of a Truth. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.*, sewed; 1*s.* 6*d.*, cloth.

Doreen. The Story of a Singer. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Wayfaring Men. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Melville (G. J. Whyte).

The Gladiators.
The Interpreter.
Good for Nothing.
The Queen's Maries.
Holmby House.
Kate Coventry.
Digby Grand.
General Bounce.

Crown 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.* each.

Merriman.—*Flotsam*: A Story of the Indian Mutiny. By Henry Seton Merriman. With Frontispiece and Vignette by H. G. Massey, A.R.E. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Morris (William).

The Sundering Flood. Cr. 8vo.

The Water of the Wondrous Isles. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Well at the World's End. 2 vols. 8vo., 28*s.*

The Story of the Glittering Plain, which has been also called The Land of the Living Men, or The Acre of the Undying. Square post 8vo., 5*s.* net.

The Roots of the Mountains, wherein is told somewhat of the Lives of the Men of Burgdale, their Friends, their Neighbours, their Foemen, and their Fellows-in-Arms. Written in Prose and Verse. Square crown 8vo., 8*s.*

A Tale of the House of the Wolfings, and all the Kindreds of the Mark. Written in Prose and Verse. Square crown 8vo., 6*s.*

A Dream of John Ball, and a King's Lesson. 12mo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

News from Nowhere; or, An Epoch of Rest. Being some Chapters from an Utopian Romance. Post 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

⁎⁎ For Mr. William Morris's Poetical Works, see p. 20.

Newman (Cardinal).

Loss and Gain: The Story of a Convert. Crown 8vo. Cabinet Edition, 6*s.*; Popular Edition, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Callista: A Tale of the Third Century. Crown 8vo. Cabinet Edition, 6*s.*; Popular Edition, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Oliphant.—*Old Mr. Tredgold.* By Mrs. Oliphant. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Phillipps-Wolley.—*Snap*: a Legend of the Lone Mountain. By C. Phillipps-Wolley. With 13 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Quintana.—*The Cid Campeador*: an Historical Romance. By D. Antonio de Trueba y la Quintana. Translated from the Spanish by Henry J. Gill, M.A., T.C.D. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Fiction, Humour, &c.—*continued.*

Rhoscomyl (Owen).

The Jewel of Ynys Galon: being a hitherto unprinted Chapter in the History of the Sea Rovers. With 12 Illustrations by Lancelot Speed. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Battlement and Tower: a Romance. With Frontispiece by R. Caton Woodville. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

For the White Rose of Arno: a Story of the Jacobite Rising of 1745. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Sewell (Elizabeth M.).

A Glimpse of the World.
Laneton Parsonage.
Margaret Percival.
Katharine Ashton.
The Earl's Daughter.
The Experience of Life.
Amy Herbert.
Cleve Hall.
Gertrude.
Home Life.
After Life.
Ursula. Ivors.

Cr. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.* each cloth plain. 2*s.* 6*d.* each cloth extra, gilt edges.

Stevenson (Robert Louis).

The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* sewed. 1*s.* 6*d.* cloth.

The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde; with other Fables. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

More New Arabian Nights—The Dynamiter. By Robert Louis Stevenson and Fanny van de Grift Stevenson. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Wrong Box. By Robert Louis Stevenson and Lloyd Osbourne. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Suttner.—*Lay Down Your Arms* (*Die Waffen Nieder*): The Autobiography of Martha von Tilling. By Bertha von Suttner. Translated by T. Holmes. Cr. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

Taylor. — *Early Italian Love-Stories.* Edited and Retold by Una Taylor. With 12 Illustrations by H. J. Ford.

Trollope (Anthony).

The Warden. Cr. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

Barchester Towers. Cr. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

Walford (L. B.).

Iva Kildare: a Matrimonial Problem. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Walford (L. B.)—*continued.*

Mr. Smith: a Part of his Life. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Baby's Grandmother. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Cousins. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Troublesome Daughters. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Pauline. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Dick Netherby. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

The History of a Week. Cr. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

A Stiff-necked Generation. Cr. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Nan, and other Stories. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Mischief of Monica. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

The One Good Guest. Cr. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

'*Ploughed*,' and other Stories. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Matchmaker. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Watson.—*Racing and 'Chasing:* a Collection of Sporting Stories. By Alfred E. T. Watson, Editor of the 'Badminton Magazine'. With 16 Plates and 36 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Weyman (Stanley).

The House of the Wolf. With Frontispiece and Vignette. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

A Gentleman of France. With Frontispiece and Vignette. Cr. 8vo., 6*s.*

The Red Cockade. With Frontispiece and Vignette. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Shrewsbury. With 24 Illustrations by Claude A. Shepperson. Cr. 8vo., 6*s.*

Whishaw (Fred.).

A Boyar of the Terrible: a Romance of the Court of Ivan the Cruel, First Tzar of Russia. With 12 Illustrations by H. G. Massey, A.R.E. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

A Tsar's Gratitude: A Story of Modern Russia. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Woods.—*Weeping Ferry*, and other Stories. By Margaret L. Woods, Author of 'A Village Tragedy'. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Popular Science (Natural History, &c.).

Butler.—*Our Household Insects.* An Account of the Insect-Pests found in Dwelling-Houses. By Edward A. Butler, B.A., B.Sc. (Lond.). With 113 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Furneaux (W.).

The Outdoor World; or The Young Collector's Handbook. With 18 Plates (16 of which are coloured), and 549 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Butterflies and Moths (British). With 12 coloured Plates and 241 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Life in Ponds and Streams. With 8 coloured Plates and 331 Illustrations in the Text. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Hartwig (Dr. George).

The Sea and its Living Wonders. With 12 Plates and 303 Woodcuts. 8vo., 7*s.* net.

The Tropical World. With 8 Plates and 172 Woodcuts. 8vo., 7*s.* net.

The Polar World. With 3 Maps, 8 Plates and 85 Woodcuts. 8vo., 7*s.* net.

The Subterranean World. With 3 Maps and 80 Woodcuts. 8vo., 7*s.* net.

The Aerial World. With Map, 8 Plates and 60 Woodcuts. 8vo., 7*s.* net.

Heroes of the Polar World. With 19 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.*

Wonders of the Tropical Forests. With 40 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.*

Workers under the Ground. With 29 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.*

Marvels Over our Heads. With 29 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.*

Sea Monsters and Sea Birds. With 75 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Denizens of the Deep. With 117 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Hartwig (Dr. George)—*continued.*

Volcanoes and Earthquakes. With 30 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Wild Animals of the Tropics. With 66 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Helmholtz.—*Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects.* By Hermann von Helmholtz. With 68 Woodcuts. 2 vols. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Hudson (W. H.).

British Birds. With a Chapter on Structure and Classification by Frank E. Beddard, F.R.S. With 16 Plates (8 of which are Coloured), and over 100 Illustrations in the Text. Cr. 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Birds in London. With numerous Illustrations from Drawings and Photographs.

Proctor (Richard A.).

Light Science for Leisure Hours. Familiar Essays on Scientific Subjects. 3 vols. Cr. 8vo., 5*s.* each.

Rough Ways made Smooth. Familiar Essays on Scientific Subjects. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Pleasant Ways in Science. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Nature Studies. By R. A. Proctor, Grant Allen, A. Wilson, T. Foster and E. Clodd. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Leisure Readings. By R. A. Proctor, E. Clodd, A. Wilson, T. Foster and A. C. Ranyard. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

⁂ *For Mr. Proctor's other books see pp.* 13, 28 *and* 31, *and Messrs. Longmans & Co.'s Catalogue of Scientific Works.*

Stanley.—*A Familiar History of Birds.* By E. Stanley, D.D., formerly Bishop of Norwich. With 160 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Popular Science (Natural History, &c.)—*continued.*

Wood (Rev. J. G.).

Homes without Hands: A Description of the Habitations of Animals, classed according to the Principle of Construction. With 140 Illustrations. 8vo., 7*s.* net.

Insects at Home: A Popular Account of British Insects, their Structure, Habits and Transformations. With 700 Illustrations. 8vo., 7*s.* net.

Insects Abroad: a Popular Account of Foreign Insects, their Structure, Habits and Transformations. With 600 Illustrations. 8vo., 7*s.* net.

Bible Animals: a Description of every Living Creature mentioned in the Scriptures. With 112 Illustrations. 8vo., 7*s.* net.

Petland Revisited. With 33 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Out of Doors; a Selection of Original Articles on Practical Natural History. With 11 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Wood (Rev. J. G.)—*continued.*

Strange Dwellings: a Description of the Habitations of Animals, abridged from 'Homes without Hands'. With 60 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Bird Life of the Bible. With 32 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Wonderful Nests. With 30 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Homes under the Ground. With 28 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Wild Animals of the Bible. With 29 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Domestic Animals of the Bible. With 23 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Branch Builders. With 28 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Social Habitations and Parasitic Nests. With 18 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 2*s.*

Works of Reference.

Gwilt.—*An Encyclopædia of Architecture.* By Joseph Gwilt, F.S.A. Illustrated with more than 1100 Engravings on Wood. Revised (1888), with Alterations and Considerable Additions by Wyatt Papworth. 8vo, £2 12*s.* 6*d.*

Longmans' *Gazetteer of the World.* Edited by George G. Chisholm, M.A., B.Sc. Imp. 8vo., £2 2*s.* cloth, £2 12*s.* 6*d.* half-morocco.

Maunder (Samuel).

Biographical Treasury. With Supplement brought down to 1889. By Rev. James Wood. Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.*

Treasury of Geography, Physical, Historical, Descriptive, and Political. With 7 Maps and 16 Plates. Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.*

The Treasury of Bible Knowledge. By the Rev. J. Ayre, M.A. With 5 Maps, 15 Plates, and 300 Woodcuts. Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.*

Treasury of Knowledge and Library of Reference. Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.*

Historical Treasury. Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.*

Maunder (Samuel)—*continued.*

Scientific and Literary Treasury. Fcp. 8vo., 6*s.*

The Treasury of Botany. Edited by J. Lindley, F.R.S., and T. Moore, F.L.S. With 274 Woodcuts and 20 Steel Plates. 2 vols. Fcp. 8vo., 12*s.*

Roget. — *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases.* Classified and Arranged so as to Facilitate the Expression of Ideas and assist in Literary Composition. By Peter Mark Roget, M.D., F.R.S. Recomposed throughout, enlarged and improved, partly from the Author's Notes, and with a full Index, by the Author's Son, John Lewis Roget. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Willich.—*Popular Tables* for giving information for ascertaining the value of Lifehold, Leasehold, and Church Property, the Public Funds, etc. By Charles M. Willich. Edited by H. Bence Jones. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Children's Books.

Crake (Rev. A. D.).

Edwy the Fair; or, The First Chronicle of Æscendune. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Alfgar the Dane; or, The Second Chronicle of Æscendune. Cr. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Rival Heirs: being the Third and Last Chronicle of Æscendune. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

The House of Walderne. A Tale of the Cloister and the Forest in the Days of the Barons' Wars. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Brian Fitz-Count. A Story of Wallingford Castle and Dorchester Abbey. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Lang (Andrew).—Edited by.

The Blue Fairy Book. With 138 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

The Red Fairy Book. With 100 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

The Green Fairy Book. With 99 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

The Yellow Fairy Book. With 104 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

The Pink Fairy Book. With 67 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

The Blue Poetry Book. With 100 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

The Blue Poetry Book. School Edition, without Illustrations. Fcp. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

The True Story Book. With 66 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

The Red True Story Book. With 100 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

The Animal Story Book. With 67 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Molesworth—*Silverthorns.* By Mrs. Molesworth. With 4 Illustrations. Cr. 8vo., 5*s.*

Meade (L. T.).

Daddy's Boy. With 8 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Deb and the Duchess. With 7 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Beresford Prize. With 7 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The House of Surprises. With 6 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Praeger.—*The Adventures of the Three Bold Babes: Hector, Honoria and Alisander.* A Story in Pictures. By S. Rosamond Praeger. With 24 Coloured Plates and 24 Outline Pictures. Oblong 4to., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Stevenson.—*A Child's Garden of Verses.* By Robert Louis Stevenson. Fcp. 8vo., 5*s.*

Sullivan.—*Here They Are!* More Stories. Written and Illustrated by Jas. F. Sullivan. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Upton (Florence K. and Bertha).

The Adventures of Two Dutch Dolls and a 'Golliwogg'. With 31 Coloured Plates and numerous Illustrations in the Text. Oblong 4to., 6*s.*

The Golliwogg's Bicycle Club. With 31 Coloured Plates and numerous Illustrations in the Text. Oblong 4to., 6*s.*

The Vege-Men's Revenge. With 31 Coloured Plates and numerous Illustrations in the Text. Oblong 4to., 6*s.*

Wordsworth.—*The Snow Garden, and other Fairy Tales for Children.* By Elizabeth Wordsworth. With 10 Illustrations by Trevor Haddon. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Longmans' Series of Books for Girls.

Price 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

Atelier (The) Du Lys: or, an Art Student in the Reign of Terror.

By the same Author.

Mademoiselle Mori: a Tale of Modern Rome.

In the Olden Time: a Tale of the Peasant War in Germany.

A Younger Sister.

That Child.

Under a Cloud.

Hester's Venture

The Fiddler of Lugau.

A Child of the Revolution.

Atherstone Priory. By L. N. Comyn.

The Story of a Spring Morning, etc. By Mr. Molesworth. Illustrated.

The Palace in the Garden. By Mrs. Molesworth. Illustrated.

Neighbours. By Mrs. Molesworth.

The Third Miss St. Quentin. By Mrs. Molesworth.

Very Young; and Quite Another Story. Two Stories. By Jean Ingelow.

Can this be Love? By Louisa Parr.

Keith Deramore. By the Author of 'Miss Molly'.

Sidney. By Margaret Deland.

An Arranged Marriage. By Dorothea Gerard.

Last Words to Girls on Life at School and after School. By Maria Grey.

Stray Thoughts for Girls. By Lucy H. M. Soulsby. 16mo., 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

The Silver Library.

CROWN 8VO. 3*s.* 6*d.* EACH VOLUME.

Arnold's (Sir Edwin) Seas and Lands. With 71 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Bagehot's (W.) Biographical Studies. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Bagehot's (W.) Economic Studies. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Bagehot's (W.) Literary Studies. With Portrait. 3 vols, 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Baker's (Sir S. W.) Eight Years in Ceylon. With 6 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Baker's (Sir S. W.) Rifle and Hound in Ceylon. With 6 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Baring-Gould's (Rev. S.) Curious Myths of the Middle Ages. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Baring-Gould's (Rev. S.) Origin and Development of Religious Belief. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Becker's (W. A.) Gallus: or, Roman Scenes in the Time of Augustus. With 26 Illus. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Becker's (W. A.) Charicles: or, Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks. With 26 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Bent's (J. T.) The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland. With 117 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Brassey's (Lady) A Voyage in the 'Sunbeam'. With 66 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Butler's (Edward A.) Our Household Insects. With 7 Plates and 113 Illustrations in the Text. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Clodd's (E.) Story of Creation: a Plain Account of Evolution. With 77 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Conybeare (Rev. W. J.) and Howson's (Very Rev. J. S.) Life and Epistles of St. Paul. With 46 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Dougall's (L.) Beggars All: a Novel. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Doyle's (A. Conan) Micah Clarke. A Tale of Monmouth's Rebellion. With 10 Illusts. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Doyle's (A. Conan) The Captain of the Polestar, and other Tales. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Doyle's (A. Conan) The Refugees: A Tale of the Huguenots. With 25 Illustrations. 3*s* 6*d.*

Doyle's (A. Conan) The Stark Munro Letters. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Froude's (J. A.) The History of England, from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada. 12 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Froude's (J. A.) The English in Ireland. 3 vols. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Froude's (J. A.) The Divorce of Catherine of Aragon. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Froude's (J. A.) The Spanish Story of the Armada, and other Essays. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Froude's (J. A.) Short Studies on Great Subjects. 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Froude's (J. A.) The Council of Trent. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Froude's (J. A.) Thomas Carlyle: a History of his Life.
1795-1835. 2 vols. 7*s.*
1834-1881. 2 vols. 7*s.*

Froude's (J. A.) Cæsar: a Sketch. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Froude's (J. A.) The Two Chiefs of Dunboy: an Irish Romance of the Last Century. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Gleig's (Rev. G. R.) Life of the Duke of Wellington. With Portrait. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Greville's (C. C. F.) Journal of the Reigns of King George IV., King William IV., and Queen Victoria. 8 vols., 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Haggard's (H. R.) She: A History of Adventure. With 32 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haggard's (H. R.) Allan Quatermain. With 20 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haggard's (H. R.) Colonel Quaritch, V.C.: a Tale of Country Life. With Frontispiece and Vignette. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haggard's (H. R.) Cleopatra. With 29 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haggard's (H. R.) Eric Brighteyes. With 51 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haggard's (H. R.) Beatrice. With Frontispiece and Vignette. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haggard's (H. R.) Allan's Wife. With 34 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haggard's (H. R.) Montezuma's Daughter. With 25 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haggard's (H. R.) The Witch's Head. With 16 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haggard's (H. R.) Mr. Meeson's Will. With 16 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haggard's (H. R.) Nada the Lily. With 23 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haggard's (H. R.) Dawn. With 16 Illusts. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haggard's (H. R.) The People of the Mist. With 16 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haggard's (H. R.) Joan Haste. With 20 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Haggard (H. R.) and Lang's (A.) The World's Desire. With 27 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Harte's (Bret) In the Carquinez Woods and other Stories. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Helmholtz's (Hermann von) Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects. With 68 Illustrations. 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Hornung's (E. W.) The Unbidden Guest. 3*s.* 6*d*

Howitt's (W.) Visits to Remarkable Places. With 80 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Jefferies' (R.) The Story of My Heart: My Autobiography. With Portrait. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Jefferies' (R.) Field and Hedgerow. With Portrait. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Jefferies' (R.) Red Deer. With 17 Illusts. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Jefferies' (R.) Wood Magic: a Fable. With Frontispiece and Vignette by E. V. B. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Jefferies (R.) The Toilers of the Field. With Portrait from the Bust in Salisbury Cathedral. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Kaye (Sir J.) and Malleson's (Colonel) History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8. 6 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Knight's (E. F.) The Cruise of the 'Alerte': the Narrative of a Search for Treasure on the Desert Island of Trinidad. With 2 Maps and 23 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Knight's (E. F.) Where Three Empires Meet: a Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Baltistan, Gilgit. With a Map and 54 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Knight's (E. F.) The 'Falcon' on the Baltic: a Coasting Voyage from Hammersmith to Copenhagen in a Three-Ton Yacht. With Map and 11 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Köstlin's (J.) Life of Luther. With 62 Illustrations and 4 Facsimiles of MSS. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Lang's (A.) Angling Sketches. With 20 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Lang's (A.) Custom and Myth: Studies of Early Usage and Belief. 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Silver Library—*continued.*

Lang's (A.) Cock Lane and Common-Sense. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Lang's (A.) The Monk of Fife: a Story of the Days of Joan of Arc. With 13 Illusts. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Lees (J. A.) and Clutterbuck's (W. J.) B. C. 1887, A Ramble in British Columbia. With Maps and 75 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Macaulay's (Lord) Essays and Lays of Ancient
Macleod's (H. D.) Elements of Banking. 3*s.* 6*d.*
Rome, etc. With Portrait and 4 Illustrations to the 'Lays'. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Marbot's (Baron de) Memoirs. Translated. 2 vols. 7*s.*

Marshman's (J. C.) Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Max Müller's (F.) India, what can it teach us? 3*s.* 6*d.*

Max Müller's (F.) Introduction to the Science of Religion. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Merivale's (Dean) History of the Romans under the Empire. 8 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Mill's (J. S.) Political Economy. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Mill's (J. S.) System of Logic. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Milner's (Geo.) Country Pleasures: the Chronicle of a Year chiefly in a Garden. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Nansen's (F.) The First Crossing of Greenland. With 142 Illustrations and a Map. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Phillipps-Wolley's (C.) Snap: a Legend of the Lone Mountain With 13 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Proctor's (R. A.) The Orbs Around Us. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Proctor's (R. A.) The Expanse of Heaven. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Proctor's (R. A.) The Moon. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Proctor's (R. A.) Other Worlds than Ours. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Proctor's (R. A.) Our Place among Infinities: a Series of Essays contrasting our Little Abode in Space and Time with the Infinities around us. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Proctor's (R. A.) Other Suns than Ours. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Proctor's (R. A.) Rough Ways made Smooth. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Proctor's (R. A.) Pleasant Ways in Science. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Proctor's (R. A.) Myths and Marvels of Astronomy. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Proctor's (R. A.) Nature Studies. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Proctor's (R. A.) Leisure Readings. By R. A. PROCTOR, EDWARD CLODD, ANDREW WILSON, THOMAS FOSTER, and A. C. RANYARD. With Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Rhoscomyl's (Owen) The Jewel of Ynys Galon. With 12 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Rossetti's (Maria F.) A Shadow of Dante. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Smith's (R. Bosworth) Carthage and the Carthaginians. With Maps, Plans, etc. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Stanley's (Bishop) Familiar History of Birds. With 160 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Stevenson's (R. L.) The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde; with other Fables. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Stevenson (R. L.) and Osbourne's (Ll.) The Wrong Box. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Stevenson (Robert Louis) and Stevenson's (Fanny van de Grift) More New Arabian Nights.—The Dynamiter. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Weyman's (Stanley J.) The House of the Wolf: a Romance. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Wood's (Rev. J. G.) Petland Revisited. With 33 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Wood's (Rev. J. G.) Strange Dwellings. With 60 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Wood's (Rev. J. G.) Out of Doors. With 11 Illustrations. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Cookery, Domestic Management, &c.

Acton. — *MODERN COOKERY.* By ELIZA ACTON. With 150 Woodcuts. Fcp. 8vo., 4*s.* 6*d.*

Bull (THOMAS, M.D.).

HINTS TO MOTHERS ON THE MANAGEMENT OF THEIR HEALTH DURING THE PERIOD OF PREGNANCY. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE MATERNAL MANAGEMENT OF CHILDREN IN HEALTH AND DISEASE. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

De Salis (MRS.).

CAKES AND CONFECTIONS À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

DOGS: A Manual for Amateurs. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

DRESSED GAME AND POULTRY À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

DRESSED VEGETABLES À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s* 6*d.*

De Salis (MRS.).—*continued.*

DRINKS À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

ENTRÉES À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

FLORAL DECORATIONS. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

GARDENING À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo. Part I., Vegetables, 1*s.* 6*d.* Part II., Fruits, 1*s.* 6*d.*

NATIONAL VIANDS À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

NEW-LAID EGGS. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

OYSTERS À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

PUDDINGS AND PASTRY À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

SAVOURIES À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

SOUPS AND DRESSED FISH À LA MODE. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s.* 6*d.*

Cookery, Domestic Management, &c.—*continued.*

De Salis (Mrs.)—*continued.*

Sweets and Supper Dishes à la Mode. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s*. 6*d*.

Tempting Dishes for Small Incomes. Fcp. 8vo., 1*s*. 6*d*.

Wrinkles and Notions for Every Household. Crown 8vo., 1*s*. 6*d*.

Lear.—*Maigre Cookery.* By H. L. Sidney Lear. 16mo., 2*s*.

Poole.—*Cookery for the Diabetic.* By W. H. and Mrs. Poole. With Preface by Dr. Pavy. Fcp. 8vo., 2*s*. 6*d*.

Walker (Jane H.).

A Book for Every Woman.

Part I., The Management of Children in Health and out of Health. Crown 8vo., 2*s*. 6*d*.

Part II. Woman in Health and out of Health. Crown 8vo., 2*s*. 6*d*.

A Handbook for Mothers: being Simple Hints to Women on the Management of their Health during Pregnancy and Confinement, together with Plain Directions as to the Care of Infants. Crown 8vo., 2*s*. 6*d*.

Miscellaneous and Critical Works.

Allingham.—*Varieties in Prose.* By William Allingham. 3 vols. Cr. 8vo., 18*s*. (Vols. 1 and 2, Rambles, by Patricius Walker. Vol. 3, Irish Sketches, etc.)

Armstrong.—*Essays and Sketches.* By Edmund J. Armstrong. Fcp. 8vo., 5*s*.

Bagehot.—*Literary Studies.* By Walter Bagehot. With Portrait. 3 vols. Crown 8vo., 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

Baring-Gould.—*Curious Myths of the Middle Ages.* By Rev. S. Baring-Gould. Crown 8vo., 3*s*. 6*d*.

Baynes. — *Shakespeare Studies,* and other Essays. By the late Thomas Spencer Baynes, LL.B., LL.D. With a Biographical Preface by Professor Lewis Campbell. Crown 8vo., 7*s*. 6*d*.

Boyd (A. K. H.) (**'A.K.H.B.'**).

And see Miscellaneous Theological Works, p. 32.

Autumn Holidays of a Country Parson. Crown 8vo., 3*s*. 6*d*.

Commonplace Philosopher. Cr. 8vo., 3*s*. 6*d*.

Critical Essays of a Country Parson. Crown 8vo., 3*s*. 6*d*.

East Coast Days and Memories. Crown 8vo., 3*s*. 6*d*.

Landscapes, Churches, and Moralities. Crown 8vo., 3*s*. 6*d*.

Leisure Hours in Town. Crown 8vo., 3*s*. 6*d*.

Lessons of Middle Age. Crown 8vo., 3*s*. 6*d*.

Our Little Life. Two Series. Crown 8vo., 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

Our Homely Comedy: and Tragedy. Crown 8vo., 3*s*. 6*d*.

Recreations of a Country Parson. Three Series. Crown 8vo., 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

Brookings and Ringwalt.—*Briefs and Debate on Current, Political, Economic and Social Topics.* Edited by W. Du Bois Brookings, A.B. of the Harvard Law School, and Ralph Curtis Ringwalt, A.B. Assistant in Rhetoric in Columbia University, New York. With an Introduction on 'The Art of Debate' by Albert Bushnell Hart, Ph.D. of Harvard University. With full Index. Crown 8vo., 6*s*.

Butler (Samuel).

Erewhon. Crown 8vo., 5*s*.

The Fair Haven. A Work in Defence of the Miraculous Element in our Lord's Ministry. Cr. 8vo., 7*s*. 6*d*.

Life and Habit. An Essay after a Completer View of Evolution. Cr. 8vo., 7*s*. 6*d*.

Evolution, Old and New. Cr. 8vo., 10*s*. 6*d*.

Alps and Sanctuaries of Piedmont and Canton Ticino. Illustrated. Pott 4to., 10*s*. 6*d*.

Luck, or Cunning, as the Main Means of Organic Modification? Cr. 8vo., 7*s*. 6*d*.

Ex Voto. An Account of the Sacro Monte or New Jerusalem at Varallo-Sesia. Crown 8vo., 10*s*. 6*d*.

Selections from Works, with Remarks on Mr. G. J. Romanes' 'Mental Evolution in Animals,' and a Psalm of Montreal. Crown 8vo., 7*s*. 6*d*.

The Authoress of the Odyssey, where and when She wrote, who She was, the Use She made of the Iliad, and how the Poem grew under Her hands. With 14 Illustrations. 8vo., 10*s*. 6*d*.

Miscellaneous and Critical Works—*continued.*

Charities Register, The Annual, and Digest: being a Classified Register of Charities in or available in the Metropolis, together with a Digest of Information respecting the Legal, Voluntary, and other Means for the Prevention and Relief of Distress, and the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, and an Elaborate Index. With an Introduction by C. S. Loch, Secretary to the Council of the Charity Organisation Society, London. 8vo., 4*s.*

Dowell.—*Thoughts and Words.* By Stephen Dowell. 3 vols. Crown 8vo., 31*s.* 6*d.*

*** *This is a selection of passages in prose and verse from authors, ancient and modern, arranged according to the subject.*

Dreyfus.—*Lectures on French Literature.* Delivered in Melbourne by Irma Dreyfus. With Portrait of the Author. Large crown 8vo., 12*s.* 6*d.*

Evans.—*The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and Ornaments of Great Britain.* By Sir John Evans, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., etc. With 537 Illustrations. Medium 8vo., 28*s.*

Hamlin.—*A Text-Book of the History of Architecture.* By A. D. F. Hamlin, A.M. With 229 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Haweis.—*Music and Morals.* By the Rev. H. R. Haweis. With Portrait of the Author, and numerous Illustrations, Facsimiles, and Diagrams. Cr. 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Hime.—*Stray Military Papers.* By Lieut.-Colonel H. W. L. Hime (late Royal Artillery). 8vo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Contents.—Infantry Fire Formations—On Marking at Rifle Matches—The Progress of Field Artillery—The Reconnoitering Duties of Cavalry.

Hullah (John, LL.D.).

The History of Modern Music: a Course of Lectures. 8vo., 8*s.* 6*d.*

The Transition Period of Musical History; a Course of Lectures. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Jefferies (Richard).

Field and Hedgerow: With Portrait. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Story of My Heart: my Autobiography. With Portrait and New Preface by C. J. Longman. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Red Deer. With 17 Illustrations by J. Charlton and H. Tunaly. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Jefferies (Richard)—*continued.*

The Toilers of the Field. With Portrait from the Bust in Salisbury Cathedral. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Wood Magic: a Fable. With Frontispiece and Vignette by E. V. B. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Thoughts from the Writings of Richard Jefferies. Selected by H. S. Hoole Waylen. 16mo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Johnson.—*The Patentee's Manual*: a Treatise on the Law and Practice of Letters Patent. By J. & J. H. Johnson, Patent Agents, etc. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Lang (Andrew).

The Making of Religion. 8vo.

Modern Mythology: a Reply to Professor Max Müller. 8vo., 9*s.*

Letters to Dead Authors. Fcp. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Books and Bookmen. With 2 Coloured Plates and 17 Illustrations. Fcp. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Old Friends. Fcp. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Letters on Literature. Fcp. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Essays in Little. With Portrait of the Author. Crown 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.*

Cock Lane and Common-Sense. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Book of Dreams and Ghosts. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Macfarren.—*Lectures on Harmony.* By Sir George A. Macfarren. 8vo., 12*s.*

Madden.—*The Diary of Master William Silence*: a Study of Shakespeare and Elizabethan Sport. By the Right Hon. D. H. Madden, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin. 8vo., 16*s.*

Max Müller (The Right Hon. F.).

India: What can it Teach Us? Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Chips from a German Workshop.

Vol. I. Recent Essays and Addresses. Crown 8vo., 6*s.* 6*d.* net.

Vol. II. Biographical Essays. Crown 8vo., 6*s.* 6*d.* net.

Vol. III. Essays on Language and Literature. Crown 8vo., 6*s.* 6*d.* net.

Vol. IV. Essays on Mythology and Folk Lore. Crown 8vo, 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

Contributions to the Science of Mythology. 2 vols. 8vo., 32*s.*

Miscellaneous and Critical Works—*continued.*

Milner.—*Country Pleasures:* the Chronicle of a Year chiefly in a Garden. By George Milner. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Morris (William).

Signs of Change. Seven Lectures delivered on various Occasions. Post 8vo., 4*s.* 6*d.*

Hopes and Fears for Art. Five Lectures delivered in Birmingham, London, etc., in 1878-1881. Crown 8vo., 4*s.* 6*d.*

Orchard.—*The Astronomy of 'Milton's Paradise Lost'.* By Thomas N. Orchard, M.D., Member of the British Astronomical Association. With 13 Illustrations. 8vo., 15*s.*

Poore (George Vivian), M.D., F.R.C.P.

Essays on Rural Hygiene. With 13 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 6*s.* 6*d.*

The Dwelling House. With 36 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Proctor.—*Strength:* How to get Strong and keep Strong, with Chapters on Rowing and Swimming, Fat, Age, and the Waist. By R. A. Proctor. With 9 Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 2*s.*

Rossetti.—*A Shadow of Dante:* being an Essay towards studying Himself, his World and his Pilgrimage. By Maria Francesca Rossetti. With Frontispiece by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Solovyoff.—*A Modern Priestess of Isis (Madame Blavatsky).* Abridged and Translated on Behalf of the Society for Psychical Research from the Russian of Vsevolod Sergyeevich Solovyoff. By Walter Leaf, Litt.D. With Appendices. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

Soulsby (Lucy H. M.).

Stray Thoughts on Reading. Small 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Stray Thoughts for Girls. 16mo., 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

Stray Thoughts for Mothers and Teachers. Fcp. 8vo., 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Stray Thoughts for Invalids. 16mo., 2*s.* net.

Southey.—*The Correspondence of Robert Southey with Caroline Bowles.* Edited, with an Introduction, by Edward Dowden, LL.D. 8vo., 14*s.*

Stevens.—*On the Stowage of Ships and their Cargoes.* With Information regarding Freights, Charter-Parties, etc. By Robert White Stevens, Associate-Member of the Institute of Naval Architects. 8vo., 21*s.*

Turner and Sutherland.—*The Development of Australian Literature.* By Henry Gyles Turner and Alexander Sutherland. With Portraits and Illustrations. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Warwick.—*Progress in Women's Education in the British Empire:* being the Report of Conferences and a Congress held in connection with the Educational Section, Victorian Era Exhibition. Edited by the Countess of Warwick. Crown 8vo., 6*s.*

White.—*An Examination of the Charge of Apostacy against Wordsworth.* By W. Hale White, Editor of the 'Description of the Wordsworth and Coleridge MSS. in the Possession of Mr. T. Norton Longman'.

Miscellaneous Theological Works.

⁎ *For Church of England and Roman Catholic Works see* Messrs. Longmans & Co.'s *Special Catalogues.*

Balfour. — *The Foundations of Belief:* being Notes Introductory to the Study of Theology. By the Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, M.P. 8vo., 12*s.* 6*d.*

Bird (Robert).

A Child's Religion. Cr. 8vo., 2*s.*

Joseph, the Dreamer. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

Bird (Robert)—*continued.*

Jesus, the Carpenter of Nazareth. Crown 8vo., 5*s.*

To be had also in Two Parts, price 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

Part I. Galilee and the Lake of Gennesaret.

Part II. Jerusalem and the Peræa.

Miscellaneous Theological Works—*continued.*

Boyd (A. K. H.) ('**A.K.H.B.**').

Occasional and Immemorial Days: Discourses. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Counsel and Comfort from a City Pulpit. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Sunday Afternoons in the Parish Church of a Scottish University City. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Changed Aspects of Unchanged Truths. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Graver Thoughts of a Country Parson. Three Series. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Present Day Thoughts. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Seaside Musings. Cr. 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

'*To Meet the Day*' through the Christian Year: being a Text of Scripture, with an Original Meditation and a Short Selection in Verse for Every Day. Crown 8vo., 4*s.* 6*d.*

Davidson.—*Theism*, as Grounded in Human Nature, Historically and Critically Handled. Being the Burnett Lectures for 1892 and 1893, delivered at Aberdeen. By William L. Davidson, M.A., LL.D. 8vo., 15*s.*

Gibson.—*The Abbé de Lamennais and the Liberal Catholic Movement in France.* By the Hon. W. Gibson. With Portrait. 8vo., 12*s.* 6*d.*

Kalisch (M. M., Ph.D.).

Bible Studies. Part I. Prophecies of Balaam. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.* Part II. The Book of Jonah. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Commentary on the Old Testament: with a New Translation. Vol. I. Genesis. 8vo., 18*s.* Or adapted for the General Reader. 12*s.* Vol. II. Exodus. 15*s.* Or adapted for the General Reader. 12*s.* Vol. III. Leviticus, Part I. 15*s.* Or adapted for the General Reader. 8*s.* Vol. IV. Leviticus, Part II. 15*s.* Or adapted for the General Reader. 8*s.*

Macdonald (George).

Unspoken Sermons. Three Series. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Miracles of our Lord. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

10,000/2/98.

Martineau (James).

Hours of Thought on Sacred Things: Sermons, 2 vols. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Endeavours after the Christian Life. Discourses. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Seat of Authority in Religion. 8vo., 14*s.*

Essays, Reviews, and Addresses. 4 Vols. Crown 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.* each.

I. Personal; Political. II. Ecclesiastical; Historical. III. Theological; Philosophical. IV. Academical; Religious.

Home Prayers, with *Two Services* for Public Worship Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Max Müller (F.).

Hibbert Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religions of India. Cr. 8vo., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Introduction to the Science of Religion: Four Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution. Crown 8vo., 3*s.* 6*d.*

Natural Religion. The Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1888. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Physical Religion. The Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1890. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Anthropological Religion. The Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1891. Cr. 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Theosophy, or Psychological Religion. The Gifford Lectures, delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1892. Crown 8vo., 10*s.* 6*d.*

Three Lectures on the Vedânta Philosophy, delivered at the Royal Institution in March, 1894. 8vo., 5*s.*

Romanes.—*Thoughts on Religion.* By George J. Romanes, LL.D., F.R.S. Crown 8vo., 4*s.* 6*d.*

Vivekananda.—*Yoga Philosophy*: Lectures delivered in New York, Winter of 1895-96, by the SWAMI VIKEKANANDA, on Raja Yoga; or, Conquering the Internal Nature; also Patanjali's Yoga Aphorisms, with Commentaries. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

OCT 21 1980

81

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

PJ
3164
R3R3

Rawlinson, George
A memoir of Major-General
Sir Henry Creswicke
Rawlinson